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CALIFORNIA Journal

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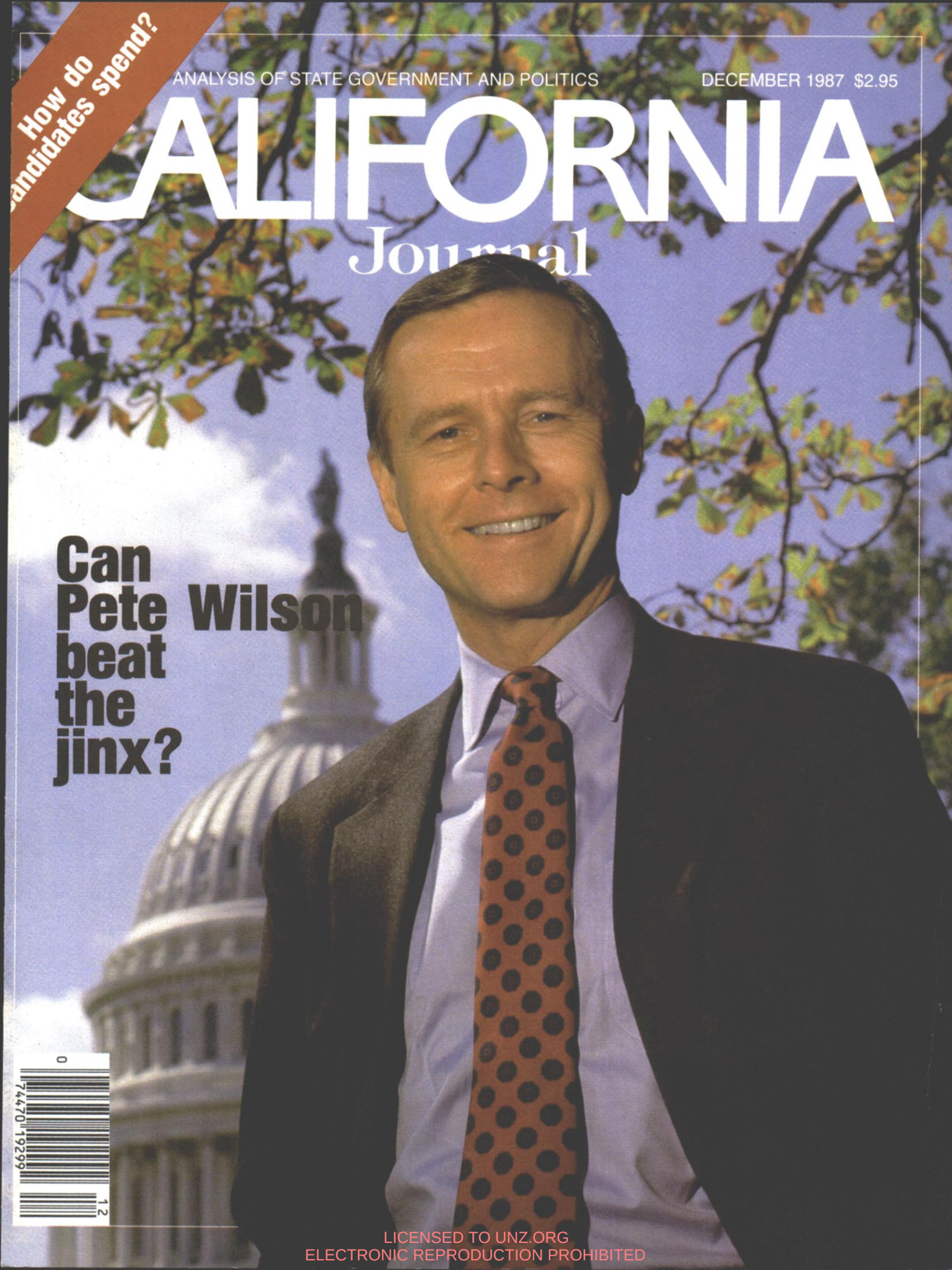

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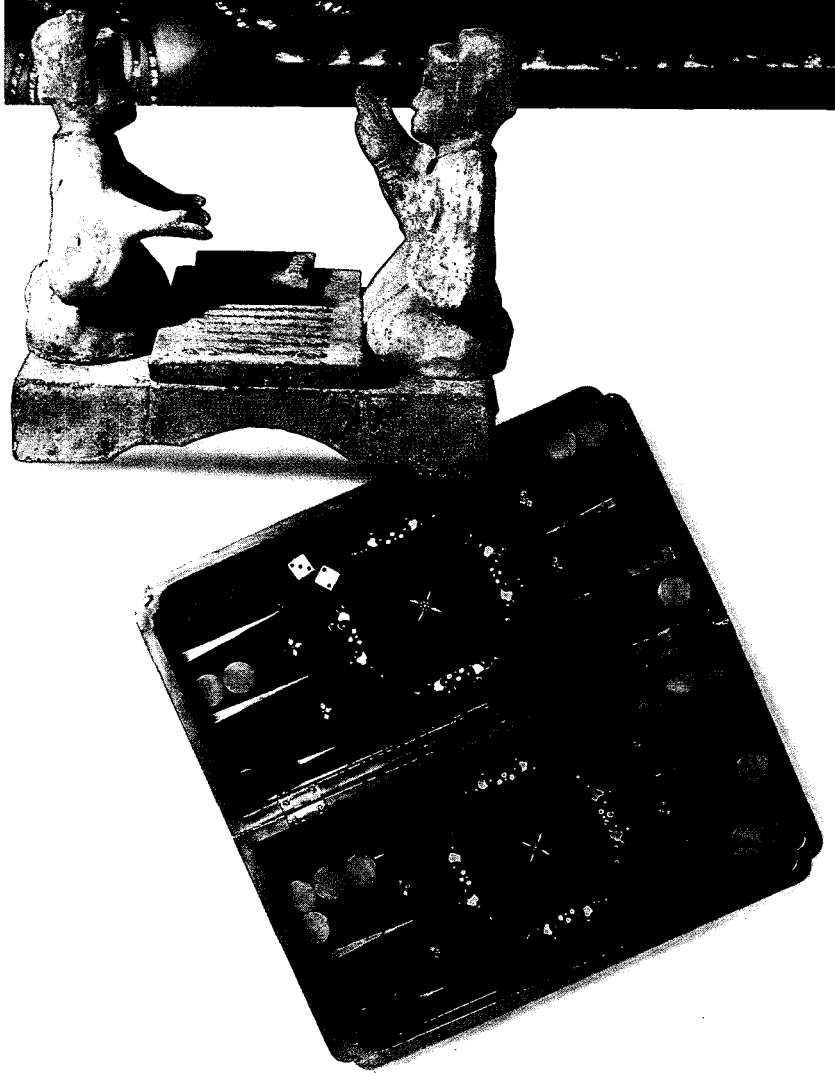
"Le jeu de Trictrac" by Cornelius de Vos zugeschrieben (1583-1651). Museum Adeville. Chinese terra-cotta figures of the Han dynasty, recently discovered in a second century tomb. Backgammon board of 1820, product of the China trade. Providence Preservation Society. Providence, Rhode Island.



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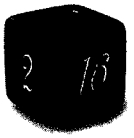

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CALIFORNIA Journal

VOLUME XVIII, NUMBER 12 DECEMBER 1987

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California's junior U.S. senator seeks reelection in 1988. Can he beat the one-term jinx that has plagued his five predecessors?
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UP FRONT

Leon Ralph, who served in the Assembly from 1966 to 1976, is reportedly ready for a comeback. Ralph is rumored to be challenging 54th District incumbent Republican Paul Zeltner, whose 1986 victory was something of an electoral fluke. Zeltner defeated Democrat Ed Waters, son of Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, even though Waters outspent him nearly four-to-one in a district that is two-thirds Democratic. Ralph has already picked up support from Gardena Assemblyman Dick Floyd. No official word on Speaker Willie Brown's support, although several Capitol sources say he won't back Ralph. Ralph, an ordained minister, has been running a church in Sacramento for the past decade.

Once more to the gate. Democratic state Senator Gary Hart is again pondering a challenge to Republican Congressman Robert Lagomarsino in the 19th District around Santa Barbara. Hart has a free ride in the Senate (he doesn't have to run again until 1990) so a loss wouldn't put him out of work. Hart, who wants out of the Senate, has considered challenging the seven-term Lagomarsino in the past and also toyed with running for governor in 1986.

Tale of two mayors. The November 3rd elections proved marginal for San Diego Mayor Maureen O'Connor and disasterous for San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein.

In San Diego, O'Connor was in danger of losing a fragile 5-4 city council majority that supported her philosophy of controlled growth because three of her allies were retiring. With four council seats up for election, O'Connor endorsed only one candidate — Ron Roberts, who won. She stayed out of the other three races, and city hall observers say it's too early to predict whether the new council will support O'Connor. O'Connor lost on two other counts: She backed a tax increase to support Balboa and Mission Bay parks, and she opposed renaming Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. Way. She also backed two initiatives that were successful: a waiver of the Gann limit and a half-cent sales tax for transportation. All-in-all, mixed results for Mayor Maureen, who must run for reelection herself in June '88.

In San Francisco, the prestige of outgoing Mayor Dianne Feinstein suffered three sharp jolts. First, a House Armed Services subcommittee torpedoed home-porting the battleship *U.S.S. Missouri* in San Francisco. Second, Feinstein's choice to succeed her as mayor, Supervisor John Molinari, was creamed by Assemblyman Art Agnos in the November 3rd primary and is given little chance against Agnos in a December runoff. And third, San Franciscans voted against a Feinstein-endorsed plan to build the Giants a new ballyard in downtown San Francisco. Lousy news for a mayor who will be out-of-sight, out-of-mind for two years and who wants to run for governor in 1990.

Surprise! Republican state Senator Ed Davis was honored at a surprise fund-raising dinner on November 14th in Los Angeles. Several surprise guests showed up, including Governor George Deukmejian. There was a surprise "this is your life" style celebration. All of these surprises were made public in a press release sent out by Davis' fund-raising committee the week before the event. Members of the press were allowed to attend the surprise evening if they notified the committee by September 12, 1987 — which was another surprise since the announcement wasn't received until November 9th.

Nice try, Al. U.S. Senator Albert Gore Jr., a Democratic presidential hopeful from Tennessee, started off a breakfast meeting with Los Angeles political writers by saying that he supports national party chairman Paul Kirk's effort to discourage intra-party straw polls. Then he added, "But I have one here." Gore produced a crumpled cocktail napkin decorated with some almost indecipherable figures. Gore said the numbers represented the results of a straw poll taken the night before in South Carolina. Not surprisingly, the results showed that Gore led the pack. But skeptical reporters determined that those casting ballots in the straw vote were a few party faithful who had bought tickets to a South Carolina dinner, and that Jesse Jackson, generally regarded as front runner in the South, had asked his supporters to stay out of the poll.

(Richard Bergholz, Los Angeles)

Pot shots. Governor Deukmejian has appointed five of the seven members of the state Supreme Court, as well as scores of jurists statewide. Was there a past or present pot smoker among them, a Douglas Ginsburg? You never know for sure, the governor confided to reporters recently in Los Angeles. "We ask everybody whether there is anything whatsoever that might be embarrassing if it were revealed," he said. And what would the governor do if a prospective nominee confessed? Would it disqualify the person?

It wouldn't be a "total disqualifier," Deukmejian said. "But it depends on the circumstances."

Deukmejian admitted he had discussed the issue with GOP state Senator Ken Maddy of Fresno, mentioned as a finalist for the governor's appointment of a state treasurer to fill a vacancy left by the death of Jesse Unruh. Maddy long ago confessed to using marijuana, a confession Deukmejian said "is something you have to consider; it's a factor."

(Richard Bergholz, Los Angeles)

Dan Lungren, the congressman from Long Beach mentioned as a possible successor to the late Jesse Unruh as state treasurer, is bucking up his credentials by dabbling in things financial. Early in November, as Governor Deukmejian pondered his short list of names to replace Unruh, Lungren's monthly newsletter focused on the October stock-market crash, quoting the *Wall Street Journal* and a *New York Times* article. Lungren's conclusion: The crash was "a reaction to Democratic solutions to America's economic ills." Hey, dust off that Nobel Prize for Economics, will ya?

(Bob Schmidt, Sacramento)

The Teamsters Union remains a formidable political force in this country, notwithstanding continued allegations of its link with organized crime and the less-than-sterling image of its recent presidents — several of whom have served time in prison. One reason

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the union continues to have clout is its willingness to make political contributions. Between 1983 and 1987 the leading recipient of Teamster money was one of California's own: Democratic Congressman Glenn Anderson of Long Beach, who got $23,000 over four years. *(Alan Friedenthal, Washington, D.C.)*

Ernie Konnyu, Republican congressman from the Silicon Valley, has been under fire lately for squabbling with a powerful GOP colleague, Silvio Conte of Massachusetts, and for sexist remarks that caused the resignations of several female members of his staff. Well, in an attempt to let everyone know that his political career is alive and healthy, Konnyu sent out an early notice that he will seek reelection in 1988 and that the state's Republican House delegation supports him, as does the House Republican leadership. All that support is wonderful for Konnyu unless, of course, you consider that three prominent Republicans from his own district want him out — industrialist David Packard and former Congressmen Pete McCloskey and Ed Zschau, both of whom have represented Konnyu's district. Word is they will support Stanford Law School professor Tom Campbell who plans to challenge Konnyu in the GOP primary next June.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

"We should be careful to get out of an experience only the wisdom that is in it — and stop there; lest we be like the cat that sits down on a hot stove-lid. She will never sit down on a hot stove-lid again — and that is well; but also she will never sit down on a cold one anymore."
— Mark Twain

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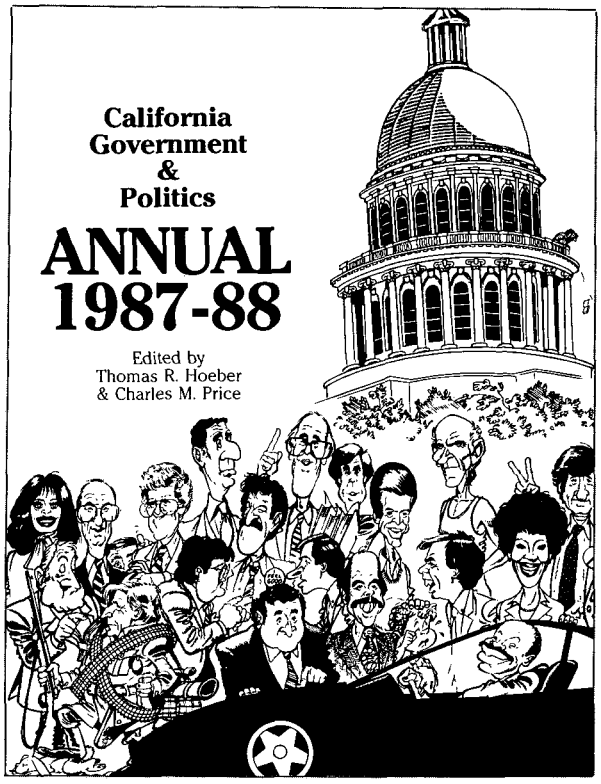

California Government and Politics Annual

Thomas R. Hoeber and Charles M. Price

The brand-new-18th edition of *California Journal*'s **California Government and Politics Annual** is now available. The **Annual** has become a standard resource book for college and university courses in state and local government. But it is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of government and current political issues.

The 1987-88 edition contains the popular 'Quick Guide to State Government and Politics' and chapters on the various branches of government; lobbying; parties, politics and elections; citizen democracy; and local government. The 128-page large-format book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: $5.95.

ROSTRUM

The press

It was with some interest and almost no amusement that I read the story in your last issue concerning the Capitol press corps (see "The good, the bad and the in-between," *CJ*, November 1987). Setting aside my quarrels with the poor conception, execution and presentation of the survey, allow me to point out a few individual, perhaps egocentric, concerns:

- My last name is spelled "Wiegand," not "Weigand," as it was in your story.
- I obtained a Masters' degree from San Jose State, not San Diego State, as you stated.
- I was misquoted at least twice, not drastically, but enough to change the meaning of my comments.
- Your listing of political writers left out the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s political editor for the past eight months, Jerry Roberts. A little investigative reporting would have revealed this to you, since Roberts had a story in the same issue.

When one looks at the number of errors in just this one area of the story, one wonders about the validity of the work — and the survey — as a whole. Perhaps if the *Journal* spent a little more time worrying about its own journalistic integrity and less printing surveys of dubious merit, the magazine would have more readers.

Then again, it is probably a good thing for us it doesn't.

STEVE WIEGAND
Capitol correspondent
San Francisco Chronicle

The Lottery

Your story on the California State Lottery ("Never have so many gathered so much from so few," *CJ*, September 1987) makes a number of unsubstantiated claims while confusing readers by mixing apples and oranges. Specifically, the article claims that the Lottery tried to hide the facts about who plays the games; that, contrary to Lottery claims, heavy Lottery players are not truly representative of the state's population, either by ethnic group or by income; and that, in fact, minorities and the poor make up a higher percentage of players.

As the article points out, and the Lottery does not dispute, a small percentage of California's adults account

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for the bulk of sales volume. Independent research, which the article cites, supports the Lottery's claim that "... Lottery players generally mirror the state's population," even when applied to heavy players. Our news release stated, "Players generally reflect state population mix." The Lottery stands by that and the manner in which the news was presented to the press.

In regard to ethnic groups, there are only two significant differences between heavy players and the population: Hispanics make up 20 percent of heavy scratch-off game players but are only 15 percent of the population, while Asians account for 11 percent of the heavy Lotto players but only 5 percent of the population. In all other categories, the difference between the percent of heavy players and that of the population is 3 percent or less.

More important, the statistics on heavy players by income clearly refute your claim. Heavy players of both scratch-off and Lotto games are disproportionately middle class, with incomes between $20,000 and $35,000 per year.

BOB TAYLOR
Director, Public Affairs
California State Lottery

Urban growth

In that *California Journal* recently focused on the state's major metropolitan areas (see "California's cities grow up," *CJ*, October 1987), we found the omission of San Jose to be a grevious error. As the state's fourth largest city and capital of the world's preeminent high-technology region, San Jose is a political, geographical and economic entity having considerable significance for the state's economic future.

It would have been appropriate to include San Jose both because of our size and influence and because a discussion of San Jose's growth experience would have balanced the negative portrayal of growth in major cities reflected in most of the articles.

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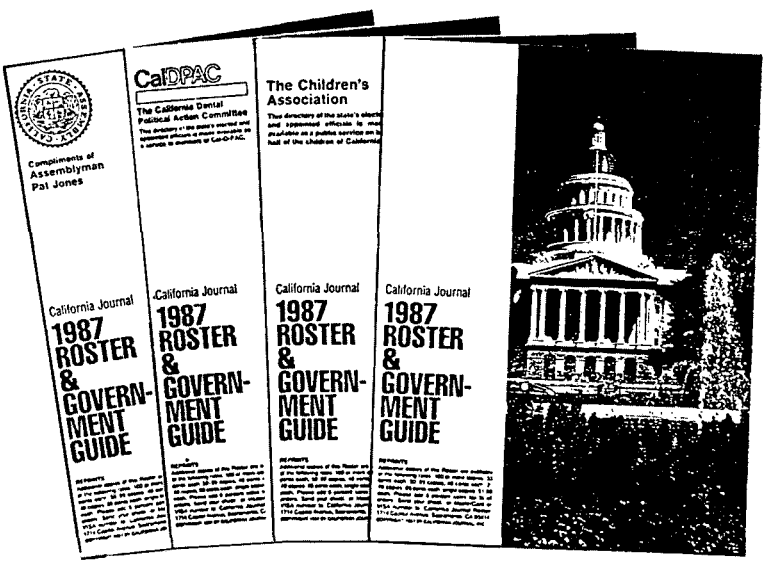

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Can Pete Wilson's low profile take him on the high road to victory?

By DAVID WILLMAN

Pete Wilson's resume for re-election carries one imponderable factor: obscurity. After serving 20 years as a state legislator, mayor of San Diego and United States senator, nearly one-third of the California public still does not know enough about him to rate his performance.

Wilson's challenge as he enters his 1988 campaign is to prove to Californians that if they haven't heard much about him, it's because he has been too busy doing what a senator, particularly a first-term senator, should do: working.

David Willman is a Washington correspondent for the San Jose Mercury News *and Knight-Ridder newspapers.*

The record Wilson would like to show Californians in the next year is one of a diligent, pragmatic centrist who is in step with President Reagan on national defense and economic issues but who goes his own way when it comes to protecting California's environment.

Dating back to his 1982 GOP primary campaign for the Senate, when he used to boast in speeches about the U.S. Navy's August, 1981, downing of two Libyan jets ("U.S. Navy 2 — Libya 0"), Wilson has been a cheerleader for Reagan's military adventurism. Wilson has praised the invasion of Grenada and the eradication of Cuban interests from that tiny island nation. He has backed Reagan at every turn on Central American policy, including funding for

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

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the Nicaraguan Contras. Wilson has been one of the administration's staunchest Senate proponents of the Strategic Defense Initiative, known popularly as Star Wars.

On the other hand, Wilson has lent a consistent, credible voice to the bipartisan collection of Californians in Congress that has blocked the administration from expanding oil drilling off the state's coast. Similarly, Wilson's most significant accomplishment over the last five years was his cooperative work with Democratic Senator Alan Cranston in adding 1.7 million acres of California wilderness to the national park system.

And, whether it should be called the politics of pork or the essence of representative governance, Wilson has worked to get California its multi-billion-dollar share of defense contracts and agricultural subsidies.

Why, then, would Wilson still fit well in an American Express commercial, imploring, "Do you know me?"

"His biggest upside," says Vigo "Chip" Nielsen, a San Francisco attorney and long-time Wilson confidant, "is that he is a very good politician and he happens to be very close to the California political mainstream. The downside is, I don't think they (the voters) know it."

Nielsen acknowledges that Wilson, an attorney who majored in English at Yale, does not excel at simplifying issues for public consumption.

"He doesn't demagogue at all," Nielsen says. "...It's the technical side of being an attorney."

Says Dixon Arnett, the former Republican state assemblyman from Redwood City who now is a legislative assistant for Wilson in Washington:

"If you walk up to somebody on the street and say, 'What has Pete Wilson done for you?' they might not be able to give a specific answer. People don't notice the hard-working guy as much as they do the outlandish guy."

Wilson, 54, has in the past voiced frustration at the difficulty of attracting attention for his work in Washington. But he now sees some redeeming qualities in his relative obscurity. Left unsaid is that the man he defeated for the Senate, Jerry Brown, is very well known in California — and out of office. It's a matter of how people know you. Perhaps most significantly, Wilson points out that the same polls noting his lack of celebrity also show that, among those Californians who do know him, his approval rating is quite high.

In fact, pollster Mervin Field reported in August that although 30

McCarthy

percent of those surveyed did not know enough about Wilson to rate his performance, 38 percent rated his work excellent to good. Only one in 20 gave him a poor or very poor mark. As a comparison, Field found that at the outset of Cranston's first Senate reelection campaign, in May 1974, 28 percent of those surveyed did not know enough about his performance to rate him; 11 percent thought he was doing poorly or very poorly.

"I'm actually quite pleased with where we are," Wilson said in an interview, adding that he does not believe his visibility is appreciably less than other first-, or even second-term senators from major states.

"Pat Moynihan's name I.D.'s gone down in New York, in part because he used to make more news at the U.N. than he does now," Wilson said, referring to his Democratic colleague in the Senate. "In a state like California, if you listen to drive-time radio, then you begin to understand what it's like.

"Most news attention centers on local government, or on the president of the United States. And then there's a smaller news hole — much smaller — for Sacramento, and a smaller one yet for Washington, other than the presidential activities.

"In a state with (so many) major football, baseball, basketball teams, with Hollywood very much a presence, with all of the different activities — I mean, it is not like Idaho, or New Mexico, or even some fairly large states. There's just a tremendous competition for attention...People have other things to do than watching TV and reading newspapers."

Although there are pluses and minuses to Wilson's lack of high visibility, as last year's U.S. Senate race between Cranston and Republican Congressman Ed Zschau attests, the candidate who leaves unpainted his own canvas does so at his peril.

Beginning the day after the June primary, Cranston hit Zschau with a barrage of television advertising, dwelling on his opponent's switches of positions, most notably on military aid to the Contras. Zschau never recovered.

Wilson does not seem vulnerable to the "flip-flop" tag, but he nonetheless faces a race to define his record as he, not as his opponent, sees it.

A taste of what Wilson may be in for comes from Congressman Tony Coelho, the highly partisan Merced Democrat who is the House majority whip.

"He has come across as sort of namby-pamby, milquetoast, irrelevant, and just a Reagan robot," Coelho said of Wilson. "He's just too much a part of the wall decorations. He's not a factor...If his people try to say he's not in trouble, he's strong — b.s. He knows that he's in trouble."

Where Wilson does not appear to face trouble is with the more conservative elements of the state Republican Party. That is in contrast to Zschau, who got chewed on by the religious right in 1986. It also is in contrast to Wilson's past, when his conservative credentials were called into question.

It has been over 11 years since Wilson, then the mayor of San Diego, traveled to New Hampshire to campaign for President Gerald Ford — and against Ronald Reagan. Wilson, aware that his alignment with Ford was not suffered gladly by some of Reagan's top-drawer supporters in California, moved to defuse the resentment in 1980, two years after he finished fourth in the state's GOP primary for governor.

Wilson's seminal overture is recalled by his veteran aide, Otto Bos, who attended a private meeting between Wilson and Reagan at Los Angeles International Airport during the 1980 presidential campaign. Bos said that before Reagan held a press conference to announce that Wilson would lead a task force of local-government officials on his behalf, Wilson raised the subject of his questioned loyalty.

"The president said, 'I don't know what others are saying. I think you're a great guy.' Whatever differences there were, I think were buried at that meeting," Bos said.

Others close to Wilson say that his transformation from a progressive Republican, in the mold of former New York Mayor John Lindsay, to a man

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Photos by Rich Pedroncelli

whose loyalty Reagan can trust, required some fundamental introspection. Wilson's motivation for a personal reassessment no doubt was heightened by the trouncing he took in the 1978 gubernatorial primary. Had he not prevailed in the 1982 Senate race, he faced political exile in San Diego.

"I think what he really did was make his peace with Reagan in his own mind," said one friend of Wilson's who spoke on condition of anonymity. "What Pete did was say, 'When we were young, we wanted to wear our caring on our sleeve. Now, it looks like I'm going to be tagged as a non-Ronald Reagan Republican forever. And that's not really fair.'"

No aspect of Wilson's record in the Senate is more conspicuously pro-Reagan than his positions on issues of war and peace. Yet although he is in step with Reagan in backing aid to the Contras, Wilson is running against the grain of California public opinion. Wilson attributes the unpopularity of Contra aid to what he sees as the administration's poor sales job — not the merits or efficacy of its policy.

"I don't think the administration has been effective in communicating either the threat to the United States or to the allies of the United States who are the small Central American democracies," Wilson said.

"...It's not a large thing, I don't believe, in their (Californians') consciousness. But insofar as they have a picture of it, it's an unpleasant thing that they'd like to avoid. And, for the most part, they don't understand the administration's position."

As Wilson and his most probable Democratic opponent, Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, know, events of the moment can drive and sometimes distort campaign issues to unexpected prominence. There are at least two scenarios for this to happen during Wilson's reelection campaign. One would be problematic for him; the other is potentially beneficial.

The first involves Reagan's Nicaraguan policy, and the scenario is to Wilson's detriment. Assuming that present or former administration officials such as Oliver North are indicted during the next year, renewed attention will be focused on the wisdom of providing aid to the Contras, of selling arms to Iran and of funneling proceeds from those sales to the Contras.

Under this scenario, Wilson might be vulnerable to television advertising tying him, by implication, to the umbrella of circumstances that has come to be known as the Iran-Contra affair. The ads could note, for instance, his votes for the Contras and his statements that he would support presidential pardons for two central figures in the attendant investigations — North and Admiral John Poindexter, the former National Security Council adviser.

Wilson's visage hardened at the suggestion of such a television campaign.

"I'll give whoever the nominee is a little free advice," Wilson said. "He better be very careful about that, because I think Californians, whatever their interest or lack of interest in foreign affairs, reject campaigns that engage in innuendo. If the spot is accurate, that's one thing. But if they're not accurate, I think they will find themselves in trouble."

The second, and potentially helpful, event-driven scenario plays off of Wilson's unfailing support of Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. Assuming that Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev finalize by year's end their tentative agreement to eliminate medium-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles, the focus will shift next January and February to the Senate, where a two-thirds vote of approval would be needed to ratify the pact.

Introducing Pete Wilson, peace-through-strength (Star Wars) advocate, arms-control scholar. All those hours Wilson has spent wallowing in the minutiae of nuclear discourse, in the Capitol's "secure" research and briefing room, will pay off as the nation trains its eyes on the Senate, particularly on those members who are undecided.

"Pete will be one of a half-dozen guys on whom the focus will be most," predicts an aide. "He's likely to be noncommittal until the end. That's not to say he will vote against it. He will not give you simple answers you can put into a lead paragraph."

Wilson's aides scoff at the mention of the so-called "jinx" which holds that no Californian shall keep the seat Wilson now occupies for more than six years. The theory is largely attributable to the one-term careers of such recent senators as S.I. Hayakawa, John Tunney and George Murphy.

But while his aides may dismiss the jinx, Wilson appears to have learned from it. For while he is called dull, he has avoided the big gaffes that made caricatures of his predecessors. Add that to the fact that Wilson has kept the far right mollified, and it would appear he is in an adequate position for entering a reelection campaign in which he will raise and spend at least $12 million.

"If you have simply done the good job and people are unaware of it, that doesn't do you much good," Wilson said. "But the converse is also true. It's a whole lot easier, I think, to let people know what you have done than suddenly to try and say, 'What am I going to have to do in the time I have left?'"

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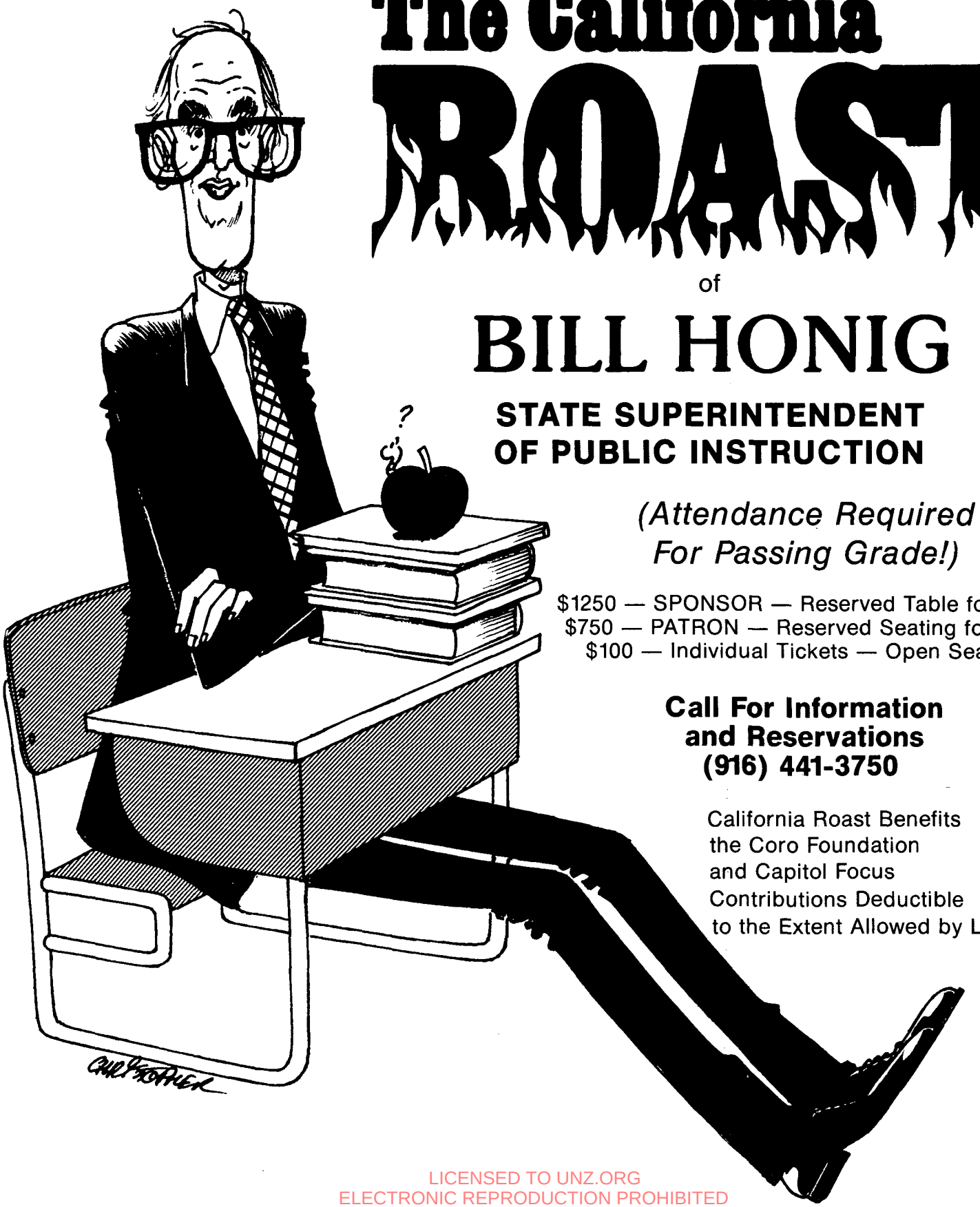

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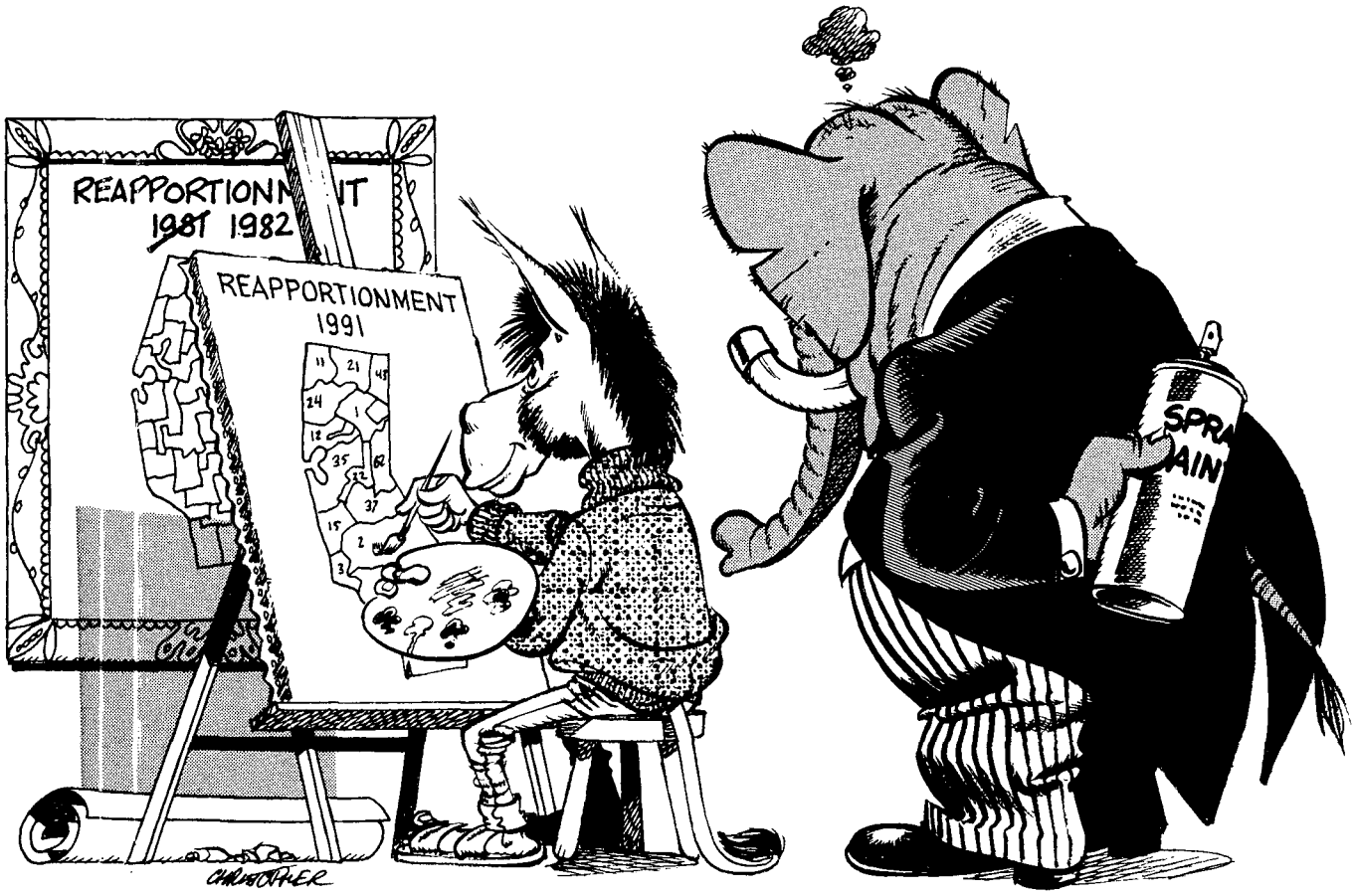

THE '88 ELECTIONS

Making tracks toward 1990 — and reapportionment

By RICHARD ZEIGER

Republicans are running out of time. They feel California should be their state. They can elect governors and U. S. senators, and no Democrat has won the state's presidential vote since Lyndon Johnson in 1964. More and more of the state's voters are calling themselves members of the GOP. But the state's Legislature and congressional delegation — thanks to an artful reapportionment in 1982 — are controlled by Democrats.

Republicans want to change that, and they have only two elections left to capture at least one house of the Legislature. Unfortunately for the GOP, the current districts are so safe, or so dominated by incumbents, there may not be enough good opportunities for Republicans to reach their goals. As a result, all of the Republicans' grand plans boil down to a case of rounding up the usual suspects.

Currently, Democrats hold 44 of the 80 Assembly seats, their smallest number since 1971. In the Senate, they have 24 of 40 seats (with one held by independent Quentin Kopp), the smallest majority since 1981. Congress is currently split 27-18 in favor of the Democrats, but the state will be picking up some additional seats, possibly as many as five, after the 1990 census.

Although the goal for Republicans is simple, devising a strategy is not. The current reapportionment plan has reduced the number of contestable districts to a minimum; most are safe for one party or the other. That safety factor has resulted in few incumbents willing to give up their districts in order to run for another office. As a result, incumbents have become entrenched and difficult to dislodge.

Republicans see their best chance in the Assembly, where several marginal districts are held by Democratic incumbents. In the Senate, however, Republicans have all but given up the idea of trying to make much progress in 1988. For one thing, of the 20 senators up for election next year, half are Republicans. That means they must defend 10 of their 15 members in that house, even though most are unassailable. In fact, in seven districts, Republicans can claim more than 50 percent of the registered voters. Typically, any time Republicans have more than 40 percent of the registered voters, they can win the district. Even so, Republicans must be on the lookout.

Senate Minority Leader Ken Maddy concedes that the situation this year is "tough." He suspects things might be

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better in 1990, when some older Senate Democrats might be ready for retirement, while others might be looking at a run for statewide office.

His Assembly counterpart, Assemblyman Pat Nolan, makes no such concession. He believes steady progress can be made, and that Republicans will control the lower house in time. Assembly Republicans believe there are a few good opportunities this year to win seats, although most of these sound like opportunities they've cited before but failed to win. And, for the first time in awhile, the Democrats think they might have a chance of recouping a seat or two that went to Republicans. Privately, however, they confess they will be happy just to hang on to the 44 seats they already have.

Clute

Zeltner

Grisham

Ralph

At the top of the Republican hit list is Riverside Democrat Steve Clute. His district's Democratic registration edge, now about 52 percent to 38 percent, has been slipping steadily for years as more and more Orange County residents moved in. Republicans came within 1700 votes of ousting Clute last year, and they figure they can get him in 1988. Democrats believe they can hold onto the district with Clute, but agree it will be tough because of the registration margin, the number of new voters and the skeptical coverage by the district's dominant newspaper, *The Riverside Press-Enterprise*. Earlier this year there were reports Clute had had enough of the Legislature, but he now says he's running for a fourth term.

Democrats have made first term Republican Paul Zeltner of Lakewood their main target. He represents a district that's 65 percent Democratic and was lost last time only because Assembly Democrats pushed the candidacy of Ed Waters, the son of Democratic caucus chairwoman Maxine Waters. Now, they are saying privately that it will be very tough for any Black candidate to win in the racially-divided district, and the leadership may be looking around for an Anglo candidate to run against Zeltner. That could be bad news for former Assemblyman Leon Ralph, who is reported, with the urging of Assemblyman Dick Floyd, to be considering a comeback. Assembly Democratic leaders hope "cooler heads will prevail," and Ralph can be talked out of the race.

Number two on the Democratic hit list is Assemblyman Wayne Grisham of Norwalk. Earlier this year Grisham tried to move up to the state Senate, but Cecil Green beat him in a special election to replace Paul Carpenter, now a member of the state Board of Equalization. Democrats think Green softened up Grisham, and he might be vulnerable in a district where 58 percent of the voters are Democrats.

Beyond that, the Democrats are looking at the Republicans' crop of freshmen legislators for signs of weakness. The most likely prospects among this group are Dick Longshore of Santa Ana, Tim Leslie of Carmichael, Trice Harvey of Bakersfield and William Duplissea of San Carlos. Further down on that list are Chris Chandler of Yuba City and Bev Hansen of Santa Rosa.

Although there probably will be at least one open seat now held by a Republican — Assemblyman William Leonard of Redlands has already announced he will try to replace the retiring H. L. "Bill" Richardson in the state Senate — Democrats admit that they have almost no chance of winning in that solidly Republican district.

Doolittle

Hart

Lagomarsino

Boatwright

Assembly Democrats have also adopted a new overall approach to the elections this year. For one thing, their campaigns won't all be run by Richie Ross, Speaker Willie Brown's former chief of staff who took something of a beating in the 1986 elections. He vowed to take a hiatus from politics, but that proved short-lived and just last month he nearly engineered an outright victory for Assemblyman Art Agnos in the San Francisco mayoral race. Ross will be back, but in charge of only a campaign or two. The rest will be doled out to other consultants under the direction of a new, year-round campaign committee that Brown plans to announce later this month.

As for the Republicans, although there are some districts they believe should be in their hands, all are occupied by long-term, well-entrenched incumbents. But the stakes are big, so there will no doubt be genuine challenges to at least a few.

Near the top of that list is San Diego's Lucy Killea. This one really bugs Republicans because the registration is 44 percent Democrat to 43 percent Republican, which would normally make it a secure district for the GOP. But Killea got nearly 57 percent of the vote last time.

Also on the list are some Central Valley lawmakers: Rusty Areias of Los Banos, Gary Condit of Ceres, and Bruce Bronzan and Jim Costa of Fresno. Each has fended off challenges in the past, but things could get interesting should one or more them decide to run for Ken Maddy's Senate seat if Governor George Deukmejian taps the senator for state treasurer.

Others on the list by virtue of slim Democratic registration margins are Steve Peace of San Diego, Jack O'Connell of Carpenteria, Richard Katz of Sepulveda and Sally Tanner of El Monte.

Republicans also might take another crack at Assemblyman Dick Floyd of Gardena. They tried to surprise the flamboyant Floyd in 1986 and came

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uncomfortably close. Democrats say they will be ready this time, though.

There might be one open Democratic Assembly seat, the one now held by Art Agnos if Agnos becomes mayor of San Francisco. But here, too, there is little chance for a Republican victory.

In the Senate, incumbents from both parties tend to be even more secure than in the Assembly and, as a result, the prospects for change are more dubious. Democrats will probably take a look at John Doolittle of Citrus Heights, who has had three difficult Senate elections already. Taking on Doolittle has the added advantage of pinning down the Republican Senate caucus chairman and restricting his ability to raise money or dabble in other districts. They also might consider a run at Rebecca Morgan of Los Altos Hills. She is, after all, a freshman. The Democrats concede there is little hope of a victory in the seat being vacated by Richardson, where Republicans have

McPeak

Konnyu

51 percent of the registered voters.

Republicans may consider a strong effort to unseat Cecil Green of Norwalk, who won his Senate seat in a special election earlier this year, particularly if they can find a formidable candidate. Beyond that, however, they are faced with unseating strong incumbents. Less-than-solid registration margins will cause them to look at Democrats John Garamendi of Walnut Grove, Henry Mello of Watsonville and Rose Vuich of Dinuba. There could be one extra opportunity, if Concord's Dan Boatwright finds himself in a tough primary challenge. Contra Costa County Supervisor Sunne McPeak has been anxious to move up for years, and just might make the run. If she wins, or softens up Boatwright, that district might make an unexpected opportunity for the Republicans.

In Congress, Democrats may try to make a couple of opportunities for themselves. Republican first-termer Ernie Konnyu of Saratoga has managed to upset a fair proportion of his Silicon Valley constituents by some sexist remarks he reportedly made. In fact, some key Republicans in the district have already thrown their backing to Stanford University professor Thomas Campbell. That primary could result in a weakened Republican, and nearly a half-dozen Democrats are already in line, hoping to pick up the pieces.

State Senator Gary Hart of Santa Barbara says he is actively considering a challenge to long-term incumbent representative Robert Lagomarsino. Hart has made such a threat before, but he has been looking for a new challenge for awhile and gets a free ride if he takes the plunge. Should Hart prevail, the special election to fill his seat is sure to be a donnybrook.

Beyond these two races, Democrats talk again, wistfully, about a contest against Bob Dornan of Anaheim, and Republicans again say they will take on George Brown of Colton and maybe Leon Panetta of Carmel Valley. But the chances for success with any of these are slim. The real contests will likely be for any new seats created by a 1990 reapportionment plan.

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UP FROM THE DUMPS

Rebirth of the state's toxic clean-up program?

By JAMES P. SWEENEY

It's doubtful Governor George Deukmejian had many applications two years ago for the vacant post atop the state's besieged and demoralized toxic-waste management office.

Alex Cunningham didn't ask for the job, and he probably didn't deserve it, given his lengthy record as an effective and loyal bureaucratic soldier for several administrations. But Cunningham has become philosophical about his mission to reverse a history of unfulfilled expectations.

"Years ago in the military," Cunningham says, "I took command of an armored cavalry unit that was absolutely at the bottom of the barrel. My first thoughts were, 'My God, what a terrible mess to inherit.' I was soon to find out later in life that the best time to take over any kind of organization is when ... there's nowhere to go but up."

Few inside or outside of the Toxics Substances Control Division would challenge the analogy. During 1985 and early

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James P. Sweeney is a Capitol reporter for Copley Newspapers.

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1986, the division was buffeted by an FBI investigation, a federal Environmental Protection Agency probe of contracting practices, a separate, stinging rebuke from the EPA and seemingly endless state inquiries.

The EPA, citing a lax program and a missed deadline, in February 1986 stripped California of its authority to make key hazardous-waste decisions. Three months later, state officials admitted that site cleanup efforts were in disarray.

The collective scrutiny found no evidence of malicious wrongdoing, but rather an overmatched and misguided team under constant political and public pressure to carry out a task for which it was ill-prepared. The unrelenting adversity left the division shell-shocked and prompted a staff exodus.

In the past year, the new management team has calmed the chorus of criticism, drawn guarded optimism and appears to be rebuilding some confidence, albeit slowly.

Mindful of the renewed hope that accompanied past leadership transitions, legislative observers and environmentalists acknowledge marked progress but say it is too soon to tell whether the toxics division has finally emerged. Moreover, broad disagreements remain about the long-range direction and the speed with which the state should move into the next generation of hazardous-waste management.

"The place isn't on fire anymore," says Kent Stoddard, who monitors toxics issues for Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a San Francisco Democrat. "They've quieted down the external problems. Now it's incumbent upon them to develop a program that works. You know it when you see it. We haven't seen it yet."

The division is responsible for cleaning up more than 400 known toxic sites, many of which hold industrial residues stockpiled over decades. In addition, it licenses and regulates hazardous-waste dumps, treatment facilities, incinerators, generators and transporters. As such, the division has become the focus of mounting public anxiety over toxic dangers. Its past failings, coupled with similar criticism of the EPA, are widely credited with moving voters last year to overwhelmingly embrace Proposition 65, an initiative that promised clean drinking water and penalties for polluters

At a minimum, Stoddard and others applaud Cunning-

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ham and his top deputy, David Willis, for their administrative acumen and demonstrated abilities to manage under difficult conditions. The two, most agree, compliment each other well — Cunningham as a deft, polished point man to restore the division's image and lobby for its needs; Willis as the internal technician responsible for much of the day-to-day operations.

Among their most significant accomplishments has been persuading the tight-fisted Deukmejian administration and the Legislature to more than double the division's work force from 335 to 800 employees. The staffing increases have been the most dramatic in the toxics program's 15 years, which began in 1972 with six employees.

Veteran bureaucrats, the two bring 45 years of administrative experience and qualifications almost tailor-made for the troubled division. Both, however, lack any prior expertise in toxics, a shortcoming often cited by critics who question whether they can succeed without a broad understanding of the many complex and competing demands.

"You don't need the technical background," Cunningham says. "You need the managerial experience, the leadership traits that are necessary so that people who have the technical background can do the job they were hired for. How can Walter Alston, who never played major league baseball, have been such a successful manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers?"

In addition to strong reputations spanning Republican and Democratic administrations, both have served before as internal trouble-shooters, Cunningham with the Office of Emergency Services in the late 1970s and Willis during the formation of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board several years earlier. As a top deputy in the Department of Finance, Willis also scrutinized the toxics budget for six years, under both the Jerry Brown and Deukmejian administrations.

"I had reviewed this budget since really it's inception as a major program," Willis says. "The focus was so much on the working staff that we really had missed ... the underpinnings, the administrative support structure you needed to run a program."

From the outset, Cunningham and Willis agreed to weather criticism and shelve pressing demands for increased site cleanups and permitting of hazardous-waste activities. Instead, for much of the first year, they concentrated on a sweeping internal overhaul and a staff vacancy rate that had left one of every five positions unfilled.

"Before," Willis says, "you had such a crush to get things done that people didn't have time to set up the process and were just going out and trying to do it. We both had been through this enough times to know that unless you front-load your planning, you're always going to be running catch-up. We said we will not let the alligators get to us ... We let other things slip, things that would have been a crisis before, in order to develop a system."

A new division procedural manual was produced, contracting guidelines streamlined, an internal mechanism devised to monitor work progress and the staff vacancies cut more than in half, Cunningham says.

"We heard horror stories," Cunningham recalls, "that for years it took six to eight months to get a contract through the system. We now have procedures that everybody follows and

Proposition 65

Proposition 65, the celebrated toxics-control initiative, had its first birthday last month, but there was little celebrating. State officials, corporate attorneys, and environmentalists are still haggling over what it all will mean.

Just three months from the initiative's first deadline — the February 27, 1988, date when the public must be warned of exposure to the original 29 toxins on the measure's central register — the state is still in the midst of developing pivotal ground rules for life under the Safe Drinking Water and Toxic Enforcement Act.

Critical questions remain, such as how those warnings must be delivered, what levels of exposure constitute a "significant risk," and what exemptions the Deukmejian administration may grant, to the dismay of all involved.

Depending on how the law plays out in California, a request is pending before the federal government to preempt all state labeling laws, while Proposition 65's brain trust says it has been contacted by groups considering similar campaigns in a dozen other states.

Proponents, already fighting the administration in court over the maiden list of chemicals, fear Governor George Deukmejian may try to emasculate the measure with sweeping exemptions and constricting regulations. If so, they promise further litigation.

The initiative's sponsors staged news conferences at both ends of the state last month, warning that many of the key decisions were being reviewed in the governor's office with critical rulings expected perhaps before or shortly after a December 3rd hearing on a major set of proposed regulations drafted by the state Health and Welfare Agency.

In addition to a "significant risk" definition and a set of public warning options, the governor's office is contemplating a series of industry petitions for blanket exemptions for foods, prescription and over-the-counter drugs, and cosmetics, among others.

"We have a very real concern that the game has shifted to some very high-power lobbying right in front of George Deukmejian," says David Roe of the Environmental Defense Fund and principal author of the initiative. "The question is, will he back his own personally designated people and an orderly process, or will he keep a back channel open?"

The private sector is growing increasingly edgy as it ponders uncertain options.

"I don't think industry fully appreciates what is approaching," says Donald E. Burns, president of the corporate-backed California Council for Environmental and Economic Balance. "The more sophisticated companies are aware that they have somewhere between a difficult and impossible task in front of them, depending on what the administration does."

The initiative requires the state to compile a roster of reproductive toxins, substances that have been linked to birth defects or sterility, and cancer-causing agents. A year after a substance is listed, anyone exposing the public to significant amounts of it must issue "clear and reasonable" warnings.

After 20 months on the list, discharges of those chemicals in unsafe levels — posing a "significant risk" — are prohibited, punishable by fines of up to $2500 a day. Public agencies and companies with fewer than 10 employees are excluded.

The initiative's proponents argue

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Willis Cunningham

everybody understands ... If you do it right, you don't have to do it over and, if you do it right, it goes quicker."

As evidence of progress, Willis says the division produced in just two days a contract for emergency health tests for residents exposed to the fallout from a chemical explosion at a Northern California wood-treatment plant. After more than a year of investigation and negotiations, the division also extracted a $3.2 million penalty — believed to be the largest settlement of its kind in the state — earlier this year for hazardous-waste violations at a Benicia dump.

An exhaustive blueprint with target dates for cleaning up the more than 400 toxic-waste sites has been compiled, and Cunningham and Willis say they have accelerated the processing of a vast backlog of unfinished permit applications.

But the division failed to reach its goal of 19 site cleanups by June 30, 1987, issuing final clearances to just nine. Fourteen more sites have since been added and seven others await only final state certification. All but one of the 21 sites were taken care of by responsible parties under state supervision.

"We haven't cleaned up a lot of sites since we've been on board because what we've done is identify just how long it takes to clean up and set a schedule to that," Willis says. "If anybody expected us to come in and suddenly overnight clean up sites, they were expecting the impossible. That's why there was 'failure and disarray' before. It takes years to clean up a site. It takes years to permit a complex facility."

Says Cunningham: "The entire toxic-waste program is extremely complex. To the man and woman on the street, they see a site and it may not be extremely large ... Why in hell don't you just bring in a front-end loader and a dump truck and haul that stuff out of there? Send it to Utah and get rid of it. It's not that simple."

Since Cunningham and Willis took over in March 1986, they have regained the confidence of an EPA that had scored the division as disorganized and adrift. A drumbeat of criticism from Democratic legislators, although still largely unhappy with the Republican governor's toxics agenda, also has been silenced.

A recent EPA mid-year review was "favorable" and absent the stern warnings of past audits, says Jeff Zelikson, acting director of the EPA's toxics and waste management division in San Francisco. The review, however, did raise con-

one year later

that both state and federal health agencies have long interpreted "significant risk" as the level likely to cause one death per one million people exposed. While that may be appropriate for many substances, the administration — noting the accepted 1-in-10,000 threshold for common water chlorination — contends the restricted substances should be evaluated individually.

Roe and others prefer labels for the mandatory warnings in most cases, while the administration has proposed a range of alternatives, including posted signs, notations on cash register receipts and media advertising for broad environmental exposures.

The Health and Welfare Agency has refereed the debate over defining the proposition's bounds, siding initially with industry in opening the master list with 29 substances, a fraction of the almost 240 both sides once agreed would be covered from the outset.

A superior court judge rejected that interpretation, but the governor appealed. The case was scheduled to be heard in November by the Third District Court of Appeals. A decision, however, is not expected until early next year.

The short list was pitched by powerful industry and agriculture interests. Proposition 65's sponsors feared the administration also might embrace a complete set of implementing regulations offered by the same coalition, known as the Environmental Working Group.

But, when the administration showed no early indication that it would consider the 400-page manual anything more than another proposal in the protracted deliberations, industry began nervously watching the calendar.

"For once," Burns says, "here's a situation where industry desperately needs regulations. They need to know what the rules are ... what we should do, and the answer is, nobody knows. Although we understand why the administration is taking so long, because it is such a complex job, it's frustrating. Industry is not going to have very much lead time before the warning requirements go into effect."

The looming danger for industry is that the initiative allows anyone to sue alleged violators. The so-called "bounty hunter" provision rewards successful litigants with 25 percent of any civil penalties, and Burns said he has heard rumblings of law firms gearing up for the hunt.

"Two-hundred and twenty-eight thousand dollars a year is not a bad fee," Burns says, calculating the 25 percent share of a maximum $2500 daily fine for 12 months.

The dispute over the list likely will be rendered moot before either side exhausts all its legal options. An advisory panel appointed by the governor already has added another 109 substances and 50 more are set for review early next month. Among the chemicals since added are alcohol, DDT, formaldehyde and DES — a drug known to cause birth defects.

Roe calls the waning squabble over the list a "side show" that bought some time for industry. "It's important ... but even if one chemical is on the list, then all these issues about regulation and where the lines get drawn have to be decided. And everybody whose chemicals are coming knows that the ball game is now. Even if your chemical isn't listed yet ... you're going to have to live with the rules that are being written."

James P. Sweeney

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cerns about the state's bulging inventory of pending permits.

"I am familiar with previous attempts to run that division," says Zelikson, who has been involved in oversight of the California program for more than four years. "They were just awful. We're talking night and day here."

Permits are being processed faster, particularly for the most threatening hazardous-waste landfills, Zelikson says. In addition, the state has strengthened its enforcement efforts, although room remains for improvement, he says.

A state auditor general's report issued in July confirmed that in the first year under Cunningham and Willis, the division initiated 173 enforcement actions — one less than the prior two years combined. However, the number of permits issued dropped sharply, from an average of almost 80 per year to 20 during a 10-month period surveyed, the auditor general found. The decline represents a conscious shift — dictated by staggered federal deadlines over the next five years — from issuing required permits for existing toxic-treatment and storage facilities in favor of landfills and incinerators, according to division spokesman Bob Borzelleri. Permits for landfills and incinerators require air emissions and groundwater monitoring and take almost six times longer to process than those for treatment and storage, Borzelleri says.

Permits for all these facilities are required by federal, and in some cases state, law. But some industries are not anxious to go through the permit process because they are reluctant, or unable, to pay the cost of meeting modern standards of toxic disposal.

"You'd like to be able to say the environment is cleaner, if you want to get to the absolute bottom line," Zelikson says. "But I don't think we can say that because of the time it takes ... to really get at and solve some of these problems."

The EPA will not soon restore California's full authority under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, a federal statute that primarily governs facility permitting and enforcement. The state, like nine others in the same situation, continues to carry out most RCRA activities, although the EPA reserves final judgment on major decisions.

Full authorization, which would reflect federal confidence in California's program, hinges on a massive redrafting of state regulations to conform with federal law. That project is still more than a year from completion, Zelikson and Cunningham agree.

Another indication of the division's promise has been the willingness of several top EPA administrators to work on temporary assignments with the state, a rare occurrence in the past, Zelikson and others note.

At home, Cunningham and Willis are drawing strong, if tempered, reviews from the administration.

"They have been gaining more credibility and support for the program," Governor George Deukmejian says. "It appears now as though we are on the right track ... but there is still a lot of work to be done."

A considerable number of skeptics, ranging from environmentalists to industry representatives, agree. "They are now a full year with significant staffing increases and they spent much of this last year just trying to hire the people they had needed for several years," says Megan Taylor, a toxics specialist with the Assembly Ways and Means Committee. "So we're not seeing dramatic breakthroughs in terms of program improvement, but at least we are seeing the foundation, we believe, the foundation laid that would allow for significant progress down the road."

However, Taylor and others say Cunningham and Willis have yet to show they can produce results. "If you look objectively at the evidence," Taylor says, "are underground tanks getting cleaned up any faster? No, not really.

"Are facilities getting permitted? Well some are, some aren't. Are we seeing enormous numbers of hazardous waste sites cleaned up? No, we're not.

"So I don't think you can say people are feeling things are copacetic now because some dynamic management team has taken over."

Taylor says the relative quiet of the past year may reflect the Legislature's willingness to give Cunningham and Willis some breathing room, a chance to rebuild and revive the program.

"The honeymoon period is coming to an end," Taylor warns, predicting increased legislative scrutiny in the coming year. "It is time to look very, very carefully at what kind of program improvement has actually taken place."

The July auditor general's report was requested by industry representatives questioning the division's use of almost $80 million in hazardous-waste fees collected from industry over the past three years. The state has warned that the fund supported by the fees is in the red, arousing fears of fee increases. While most of the money was allocated for specified cleanup and regulatory activities, the auditor general could not detail some $10 million in expenditures that industry believes has been absorbed by overhead.

Donald E. Burns, president of the industry lobby California Council for Environmental and Economic Balance, says there is a broad range of corporate disenchantment with the toxics division, not the least of which is the lengthy waits companies still must endure for permits and variances.

"You won't hear much optimism from our members," Burns says. "We'd like to believe" the division has corrected its problems, "but we haven't seen any evidence yet. It may just be that it is just totally out of control."

At the same time, environmentalists complain that the state continues to show little foresight, only begrudgingly willing to force industry away from land disposal and treatment to the reduction of hazardous wastes at the source. Treatment and incineration favored by the state often result in additional water and air pollution, they say.

"It's like a rug with a lot of bumps in it," says Michael Picker of the Toxics Coordinating Project, an organization backed by environmental and consumer interests. "You push down one bump and it comes up somewhere else."

The government response, both at the state and federal levels, fails to recognize a mushrooming toxic threat while concentrating on immediate problems, Picker and others warn.

"It's extremely unlikely that the public's demands will be met by the (state) or the EPA," says David Morell, a consultant who has worked for both the state toxics division and the EPA. "The fundamental issues ... are much tougher, intractible issues, than we, the public, are willing to admit. Thus, the capacity of the toxics division under any leadership to pull us out of this quagmire is nil."

But Cunningham is proud of the division's alternative-technologies branch, a team that examines industry manufacturing processes and recommends methods to reduce waste. Any major redirection in the state's approach to hazardous-waste management, he suggests, requires patience.

"It's a double-edged sword," Cunningham says. "We are very much in favor of source reduction ... But you have to understand that industry just can't change that fast. So we have to — while working on source reduction — also do the permitting and on-site treatment as a way of catching up.

"You can't move from a Model T to a Ferrari overnight."

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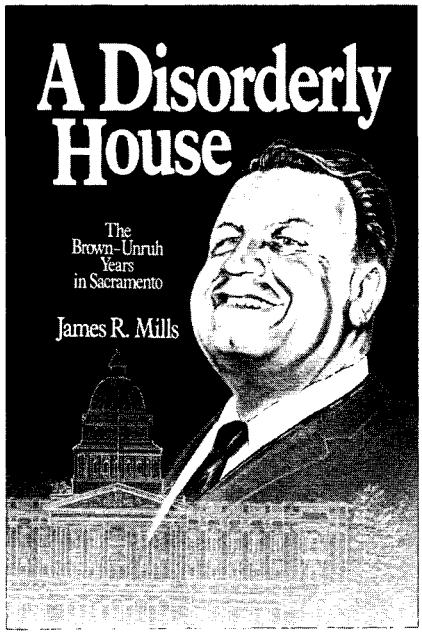
James Mills' "A Disorderly House" — a Jesse Unruh memoir

By ROBERT SCHMIDT



Jim Mills was there in 1961 when Jesse Unruh became speaker of the California State Assembly, and Jim Mills was there two years later when Unruh, "the most beneficial influence upon (the Legislature) in its entire history," in a lapse of judgment that may have cost him the governorship, locked Republicans in the Assembly chamber during a dispute over the budget.

Mills, whose pedantic exterior masked sharp political skills that later carried him to the leadership of the state Senate, writes about the Unruh heyday in the Assembly in the marvelously titled "A Disorderly House," published by Heyday Books of Berkeley.

Unruh is gone now, having died August 4, 1987, after a prolonged battle with cancer. During his fabled political career, he served as speaker, lost the governorship to Ronald Reagan in 1970, was elected state treasurer in 1974, and then turned that previously obscure office into one of the most powerful and influential in the state. Three years remained in his fourth term as treasurer when he died.

Unruh presided over the Assembly for seven dramatic and eventful years, restructuring the house into a truly independent branch of government, persuading the Senate to do the same and providing a role model for other state legislatures.

Mills served in the Assembly from 1961 through 1966 before moving to the Senate. He writes of his Assembly years with affection and candor, and it is difficult to imagine anyone who had anything at all to do with the Capitol around that time who won't find "A Disorderly House" entertaining: Charlie Meyers with his mints and his armloads of files and reports; Bob Crown and the ladies; Jerry Waldie, crewcut and constantly concerned; the irreverent Bill Bagley; Don Mulford, "his broad ruddy face...radiating sincerity;" and Unruh, of course, and his legendary drinking and eating and womanizing — all are there.

And Pat Brown. Everybody remembers Pat Brown. Governor Pat. Warm, affable, kindly, trustworthy Pat Brown.

Jim Mills remembers him differently. He describes a mean-spirited Pat Brown, a vindictive Pat Brown, a "bushwacker," a man who told someone who complained about a promise being broken: "You didn't get it in writing."

And then there's Unruh's infamous "Lockup."

Mills devotes several chapters of the 211-page book to the night in July, 1963, when Speaker Unruh locked Republicans in the Assembly chamber because they wouldn't vote for the budget. Mills makes a brief run at contending that there was a legal correctness in Unruh's action. But, to his credit, Mills also acknowledges that the Republican leadership just plain outslickered the Democratic leadership that night.

What might have been just a minor, quickly-forgotten blunder became a public-relations disaster of epic proportions for Unruh. It gave the "Big Daddy" label he had already acquired an even more pejorative connotation and invited the unwelcome critical attention of the national press.

The entire episode is recounted, perhaps in more detail than in any retelling of the story since Lou Cannon's book, "Ronnie and Jesse," in 1969, including the fact that Unruh was unable to perceive the disaster because he was angry, frustrated — and very drunk.

Fortunately, the stories that Mills, the politician, tells are so good that they overcome the handicap of having them told by Mills, the writer. "Pedantic," a word used earlier to describe Mills, refers to "a person who makes an excessive or inappropriate show of learning," and it is unfortunately apt. He describes the object of a legislator's affections as "a young, fine-featured, raven-haired damozel, of the sort you might expect to see leaning over the bar of heaven in the direction of Dante Gabriel Rossetti."

Another time, Unruh's "face looked like the death mask of Grendel." A bit of bad news made someone else "yodel like a wronged woman in a Verdi opera." There is also "simoniously pure," "bombilating salvo," "afflatus of two-step music," "ovine wisdom," and "fleered," at various places — none of the phrases contributing to communication.

But still, "A Disorderly House" is a quick and pleasant read about a brief period in the life of a remarkable man. A book should be written about Jesse Marvin Unruh, and Jim Mills' effort here, to borrow a phrase from him, "is only the beginning of the truth."

Robert Schmidt is Capitol bureau chief for the Long Beach Press Telegram.

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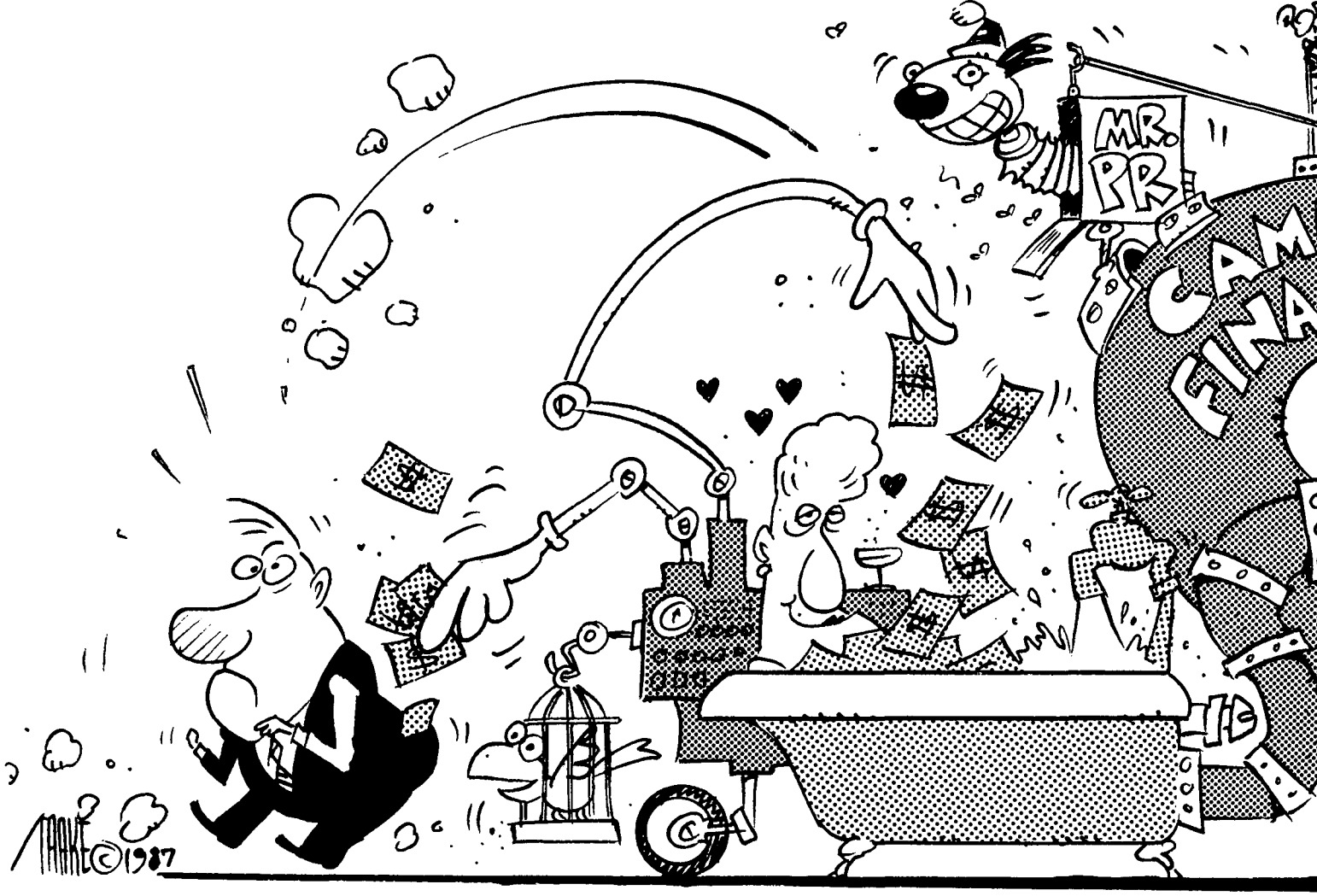

THE CASH

How do candidates spe

By A

Back in 1982, state Senator William Campbell was invited to France and Denmark to address the European Economics Parliament. Campbell wanted to use campaign contributions to pay traveling expenses, not only for himself but for his wife and for his chief of staff, Jerry Haleva. "Can do?" he asked the attorney general's office.

"Can do," said an assistant to then-Attorney General George Deukmejian. The Elections Code allowed Campbell to spend campaign money for travel that had nothing to do with his reelection, as long as the trip served "a legislative and governmental purpose that is more than negligible," Deukmejian's office agreed. Not only that, Campbell could use contributions to pay for his wife's trip because she was "deemed to be traveling for the same purpose." And Campbell's chief of staff was covered because he served as his boss' representative at several workshops.

California Journal *summer interns Lori Carr, Lisa Steinfeldt and Matthew Budman did research for this article.*

By using campaign funds to finance a trip to Europe for himself, his wife and chief of staff, did Campbell violate an unwritten understanding between himself and his contributors, many of whom may have thought they were buying bumper stickers, brochures and postage for the senator's reelection?

No, insists Campbell chief of staff Haleva. "The basic assumption is flawed that contributors contribute only toward a reelection campaign," Haleva said. "They contribute toward the political career of Senator Campbell. And that career was enhanced by the trip to Europe."

Haleva insists that Campbell could have traveled at the state's expense but chose instead to have his contributors, not the taxpayers, foot the bill. "The role of the campaign fund is more than a reelection fund," he said. "Contributors understand this."

Campbell's experience is not unique. Elected officials regularly use campaign funds for a variety of things that have little to do with campaigning. For instance, a Compton city councilman was given the okay in 1986 to use campaign con-

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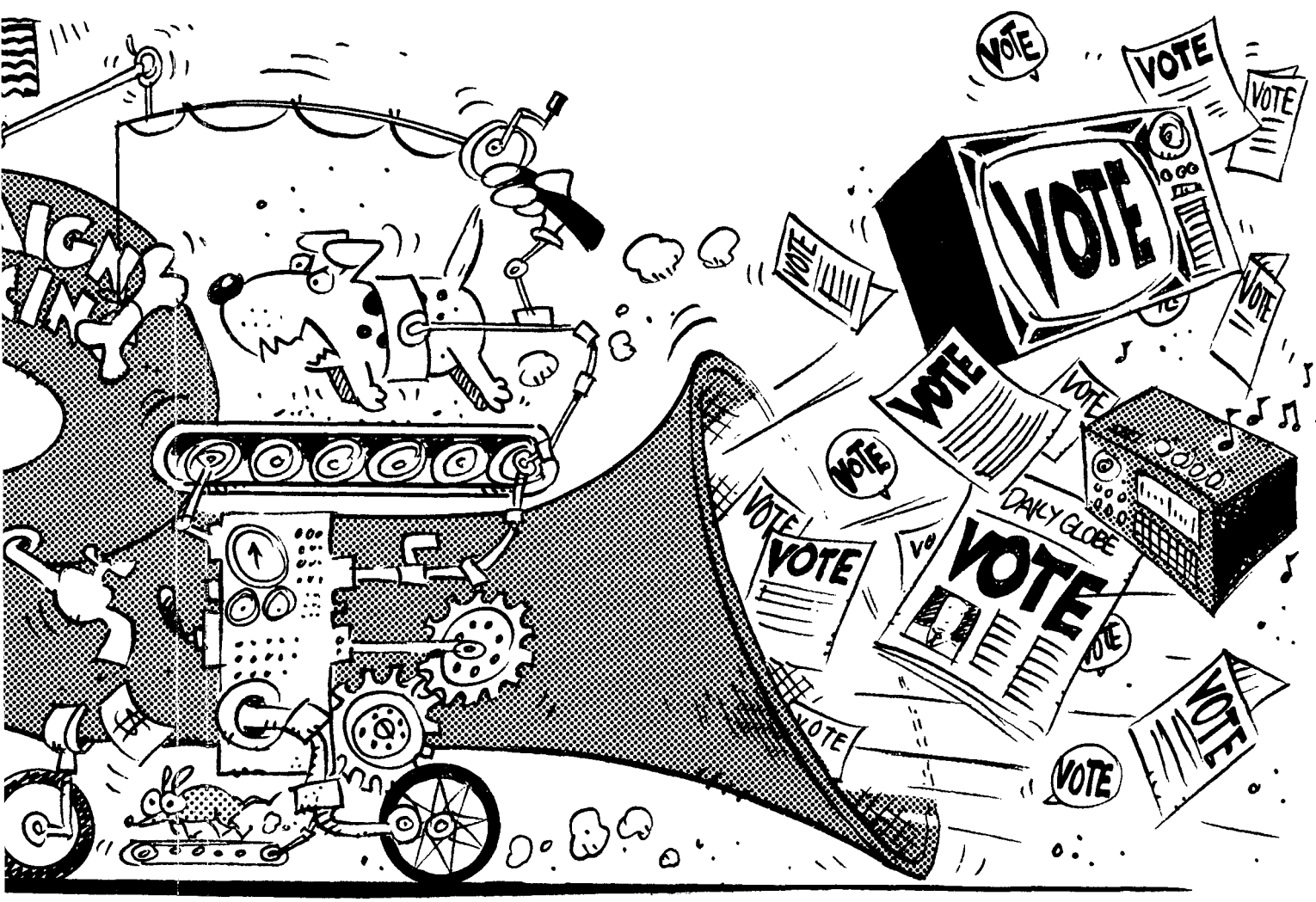

MACHINE

all those contributions?

LOCK

tributions to defend himself after being indicted by the Los Angeles Grand Jury. Because the indictments grew out of his duties as an elected official, the attorney general's office allowed the councilman to pay for his lawyer by using campaign money.

Some legislative incumbents, especially those who run in relatively safe districts against weak or poorly-financed opponents, also use campaign contributions for such items as football tickets, trips abroad and excursions to Nevada resorts (see box). Still other officeholders donate excess campaign cash to colleagues to expand their power by accumulating political chits. Thus, a contributor who in 1986 gave to 15th District Republican Assemblyman William Baker of Walnut Creek may actually have helped to elect Chris Chandler in the 3rd District around Yuba City, because Baker contributed his campaign funds to help finance Chandler's bid for office.

The 1974 Political Reform Act restricts spending of campaign contributions to items and services that help a candidate get elected. Basically, that means shelling out for polling, brochures, buttons, bumper stickers, posters, advertising, travel, consultants, and general overhead (lights, heat, staplers, copy machines, telephones, stationery, envelopes, postage).

But the election code also allows incumbent legislators to use campaign funds for expenses that relate to legislative duties, such as travel to and from hearings, junkets abroad, meals, car rentals, auto insurance, and sports tickets for constituents. And the law also allows a candidate to give away his or her money to charities, to other candidates and to political parties.

Not all candidates use their funds the same way, however. Based on Fair Political Practices Commission reports of 26 different campaigns from the 1986 elections, the spending habits of Republicans and Democrats tend to differ, as do those for incumbents and non-incumbents, winners and losers (see charts).

For instance, among the surveyed campaigns, winners and losers in heavily contested races spent about the same portion of funds on advertising — 58.5 percent for winners,

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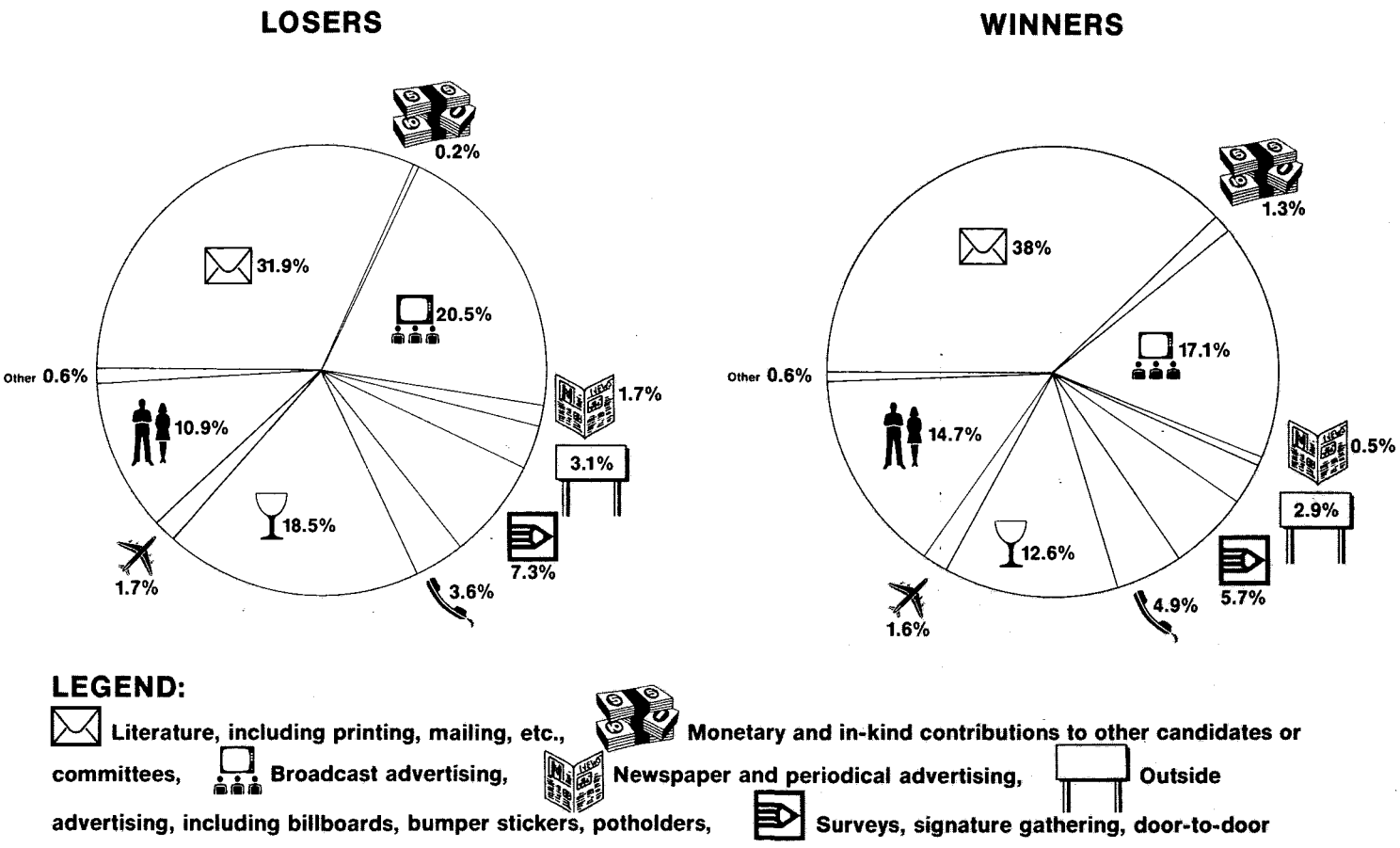
CHART 1



57.3 percent for losers (see Chart 1). But losers dedicated a higher percentage for television, radio and newspaper ads, while winners went more for direct mail. Losers also sliced off a bigger chunk of their warchest for overhead to run campaign offices (18.5 percent, compared with 12.6 percent for winners). Winners, on the other hand, spent about 4 percent more for campaign consultants than did losers (14.8 percent to 10.9 percent).

Spending varied between Republicans and Democrats as well (see Chart 2). Democrats spent slightly more for advertising; Republicans substantially more on campaign offices and consultants. Democrats spent nearly twice as much as Republicans on polling and door-to-door soliticiting.

Democrats also gave away more to fellow Democrats than Republicans did to other candidates of their party. In the Assembly, Willie Brown's ability and willingness to raise and dispense money are the main props of his speakership. Brown and several of his chief lieutenants raise far more than they need for reelection, disbursing the excess to other Democratic candidates who then owe allegiance to their political bankers. Republican Assembly leader Pat Nolan and his lieutenants do likewise.

In the state Senate, President pro Tempore David Roberti serves as the Democrats' banker. In a special election in the 33rd Senate District earlier this year, Roberti ponied up $1.2 million to elect Cecil Green to the seat vacated by Paul Carpenter in Orange and Los Angeles counties. Roberti's donation was $400,000 more than the Republican candidate, Assemblyman Wayne Grisham, raised from all sources, private and legislative.

Spending also differs in different parts of the state as legislative and congressional candidates try to come up with the most effective plans to reach voters in their respective districts. A spending plan in Sacramento will not work as effectively as one in Los Angeles.

For example, in Sacramento's 6th Senate District, incumbent Democrat Leroy Greene and his Republican challenger, Supervisor Sandy Smoley, spent over 20 percent of their budgets on television and radio advertising because, in Sacramento, TV and radio ads effectively pinpoint the district's voters. Greene and Smoley spent 34 and 30 percent, respectively, on direct mail.

By contrast, Assembly candidates in the 72nd District of Orange County bought no TV or radio advertising at all, preferring brochures and campaign literature mailed directly to voters. Republican Richard Longshore dedicated 62 percent of his budget for literature; Democrat Dan Griset, 46 percent. Television and radio are not cost-effective in the Los Angeles-Orange County area because their cost is high and the ads themselves beam into Santa Monica and Pasadena and Compton, as well as into Orange County. Only candidates who must appeal to voters throughout the region buy television time in LA.

Thus, a warchest has to be spent effectively to help a candidate. Simply throwing more and more money into a campaign does not guarantee a win. Witness the fate of Democrat Lou Papan who ran for the state Senate in 1986. Then-

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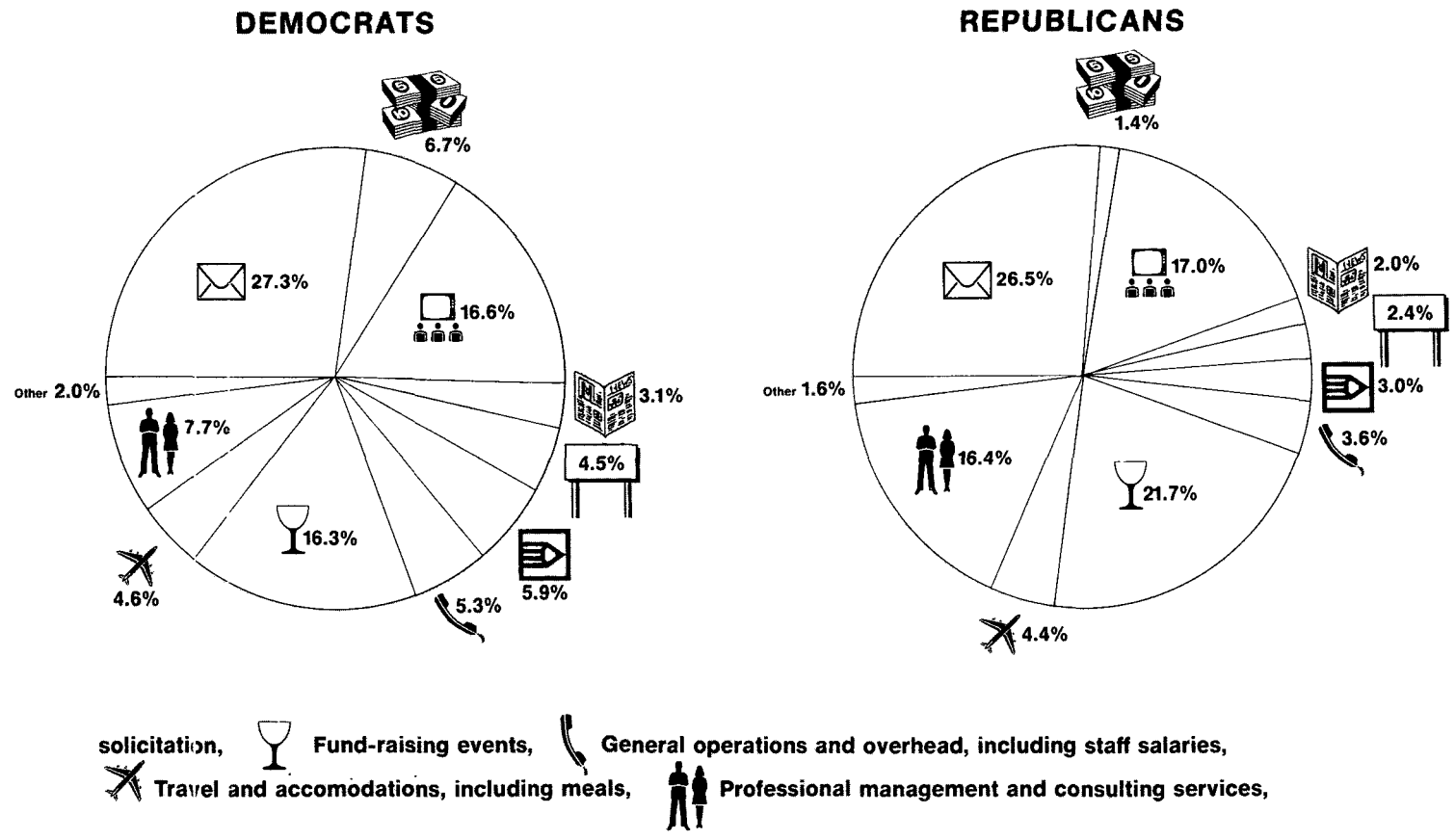
CHART 2



Assemblyman Papan outspent his opponent, San Francisco Supervisor Quentin Kopp, by nearly $800,000. Kopp, however, won the election. The only area where Kopp outspent Papan was for professional consulting — $75,822 to $57,970.

Papan, on the other hand, spent more on such things as travel (much of it outside the district), general overhead and fund raising. Although he dedicated a smaller slice of his warchest for TV and radio ads (31.6 percent to 39 percent for Kopp), Papan spent nearly $200,000 more than Kopp for tube time.

In an even more dramatic disparity, Democrat Ed Waters outspent Republican Paul Zeltner by nearly four-to-one ($619,986 to $167,272) in the 54th Assembly District of Los Angeles County. Waters spent more for general overhead (such things as office supplies, rent, campaign workers and auto leases) than Zeltner spent for his entire campaign — $185,841. Zeltner, by contrast, spent but $6227 for overhead. Yet, Zeltner won. Like Kopp, Zeltner outspent Waters in only one area — for his professional campaign consultant. Waters, on the other hand, more than tripled Zeltner's outlay for direct mail ($328,623 to $101,986).

To make sure that candidates spend their money legally, the 1974 Political Reform Act set up a regulatory chain of agencies, each responsible for some small part of the whole. Yet, the regulatory chain seems to be a hodge-podge, with no one agency firmly in charge:

- The Fair Political Practices Commission has "primary responsibility for interpretation and administration of the (Political Reform) Act." It can investigate spending irregularities but cannot prosecute offenders. If it finds something wrong, it notifies the attorney general.
- The Franchise Tax Board conducts random campaign audits. It can identify spending irregularities but cannot investigate or prosecute. If an audit turns up something wrong or fishy, the board notifies the FPPC.
- The state attorney general responds to complaints and offers advice to candidates on how campaign funds can be spent. It can both investigate and prosecute, although it has never prosecuted anyone under the law.
- The secretary of state's office (political-reform division) files candidates' disclosure reports. It can identify potential spending irregularities but cannot investigate or prosecute. If it finds anything out of the ordinary, it, too, notifies the FPPC.

The secretary of state gives the most cursory glance at campaign spending. According to Wayne Imberi of the political-reform division, the office only reviews reports to see that the documents are filled out properly. They check to see that expenditures are listed on the correct lines, and that totals for each page of the report add up to the total on the summary page. Imberi says the political-reform division notifies the FPPC of a half-dozen to a dozen expenditures per year that might constitute a misuse of funds.

The Franchise Tax Board conducts random audits during every election cycle, with the FPPC selecting candidates to be checked. According to Jim Yates, who supervises audits for the board, a legislative or judiciary candidate has about a

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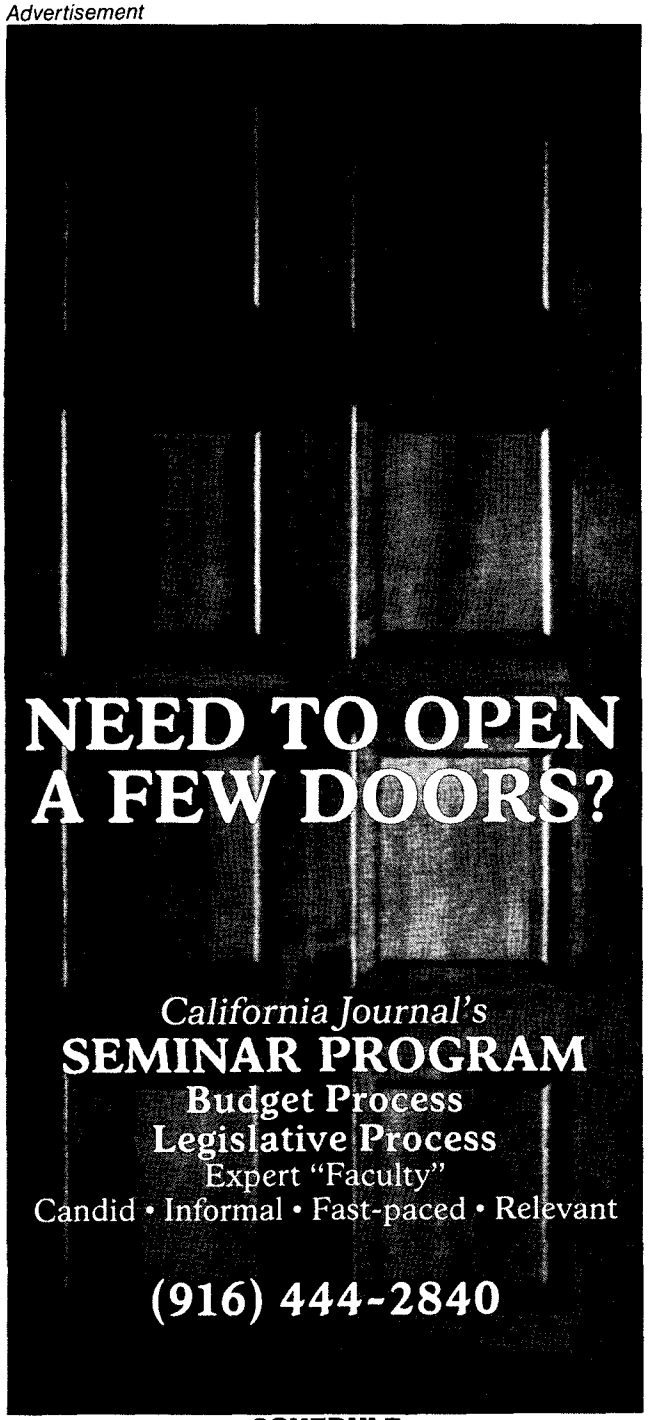

SCHEDULE

Dec. 3	THE HIDDEN LAWS... coping with California's regulatory process	Los Angeles
Dec. 4	DEMYSTIFYING THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS	Los Angeles
Jan. 28	THE HIDDEN LAWS... coping with California's regulatory process	Sacramento
Jan. 29	DEMYSTIFYING THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS	Sacramento

one-in-four chance of being targeted in any given election year. The audits themselves take 40 to 70 hours each and ensure that all expenditures are disclosed and itemized in accordance with FPPC rules. The board checks to see that all expenditures are reported and that amounts on the disclosure reports match amounts itemized in bank transactions. It also goes over all the candidate's bank accounts, reconciling them with campaign-disclosure statements to make sure every bank transaction has been reported by the campaign treasurer.

The FTB does not check the legitimacy of each expenditure, however. If an auditor finds a questionable item, he or she notifies the FPPC, according to Dave Quinn, manager of the Political Reform Audit at the FTB. The FPPC is required to forward information to the attorney general's office for further investigation.

The attorney general is the designated prosecutor under the elections code and is charged with investigating complaints against candidates. According to Assistant Attorney General Eugene Hill, the attorney general receives fewer than

> "The role of the campaign fund is more than a reelection fund. Contributors understand this." —Jerry Haleva

10 complaints per year, mostly from the FPPC, private citizens, and candidates' opponents. The attorney general also initiates investigations based on information gleaned from the media. No prosecutions have ever taken place, however, because the attorney general has never found enough supporting evidence. Because of the statute of limitations, the attorney general cannot prosecute more than one year after an offending report is filed.

The attorney general's office also answers questions from candidates and legislators concerning the validity of spending for such things as travel, club dues, health care, car rentals, sports tickets and charitable donations, to name but a few. These fall into a gray area of personal use, which the attorney general's office usually ends up defining on a case-by-case basis.

The reporting process itself is complicated. Expenditures must be placed in one of 11 vague categories. To help clear up the ambiguities, the reporting form describes each category, and the FPPC publishes an instruction manual.

The manual, however, is "just a monster to read," according to Linda Bunch, who handles campaign disclosure forms for San Diego County. "Candidates prefer to call in with their questions rather than read the manual," she added.

Some expenditures don't seem to fit any category; for instance, sports tickets, club dues, gifts, honoraria, meals not attributable to travel, and charitable donations. According to the instructions, these expenditures must be fully described. However, in going over the reports of some 50 candidates, the *Journal* found numerous expenditures that were not categorized, not categorized correctly or even described. Also, since different campaign treasurers interpret categories differently, the reports of various candidates lacked consistency — as did separate reports filed by different treasurers for the same candidate.

For example, surveying expenses were listed under both

Continued on page 600

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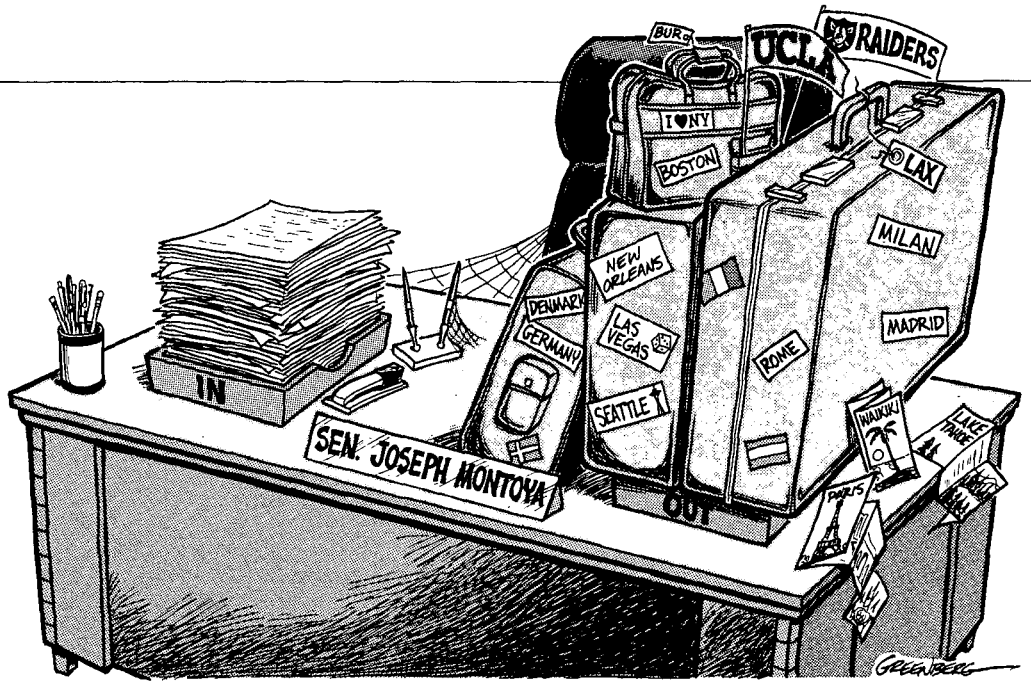

How Joe Montoya spends it

Legislators as a group tend to be free-wheeling when it comes to spending campaign money. But even among lawmakers, state Senator Joseph Montoya stands out. Montoya spent nearly $500,000 on his 1986 reelection campaign, even though he ran unopposed. As chairman of one of the Legislature's prime "juice" committees — Senate Business and Professions — the El Monte Democrat has had little trouble raking in contributions. In 1986, for instance, he raised more than $600,000.

So, how did Montoya spend his cash?

According to campaign disclosure forms filed with the Fair Political Practices Commission, Montoya gave $41,820 to other candidates in 1986. He spent nearly $40,000 on advertising, the lion's share for direct-mail literature. It cost him $17,654 to put on fund raisers and $19,121 for "other" incidental expenses (including $1000 for clothing and $3500 for "photography"). More than $76,000 went for general overhead, while another $26,000 went for campaign consulting, most of it to a firm called Public Relations Consultants. During 1985 and 1986, Montoya's campaign spent more than $45,000 with a company called Data Imaginations of Van Nuys, with the expenditures charged off to "general operations and overhead" or "independent expenditures," which is money spent on behalf of another candidate without that candidate's knowledge.

Finally, Montoya spent more than $31,000 on travel, a portion of which involved commuting costs to Sacramento from his Southern California district. But a large portion of it also included travel around the country — and around the world.

Over the past few years, Montoya has traveled extensively thanks to his contributors. His 1985 disclosure forms show three trips to the Lake Tahoe-Reno area, three trips to Las Vegas, two to Wakiki and one each to Seattle, Boston and New Orleans. These jaunts cost his campaign treasury $4091.86 in hotel bills and were in addition to trips around California and to Washington, D.C.

In 1986 Montoya added Paris and Madrid to his itinerary. He took two trips to the Tahoe area, again visited New Orleans and Boston, traveled twice to Denver and once to New York. All this cost his campaign $2528.13 in hotel bills.

Through June 1987 Montoya again visited Tahoe, as well as Big Bear Lake and Portland. He also went overseas to Milan, Copenhagen and West Germany. Hotel bills thus far in 1987 amount to $1168.36 through the first reporting period.

(The cost of transporting Montoya from one place to another is difficult to determine. Although his disclosure forms show payments to individual airlines, they do not explain where the tickets took Montoya. The reports also show several large payments to travel agencies — $1470, $3356 and $1005 to Mattingly Tour & Travel of Rowland Heights; $1575.20 to House of Travel in Sacramento; $799.76 to AAA Travel Agency of San Antonio. These payments are charged off to "travel" and may have included hotels, rental cars and/or meals as well as tickets. Election laws do not require an explanation.)

Montoya also uses his campaign treasury to buy sports tickets. In 1985 he spent $880 on Los Angeles Dodgers tickets. In 1986 he spent $399 on tickets for UCLA sporting events and $2152 for Los Angeles Raiders tickets. This year he spent another $2368 for Raiders tickets.

These expenditures may all be legal. The Elections Code specifies that campaign funds can be spent for such things as travel and sports tickets as long as they have more than a negligible legislative or political purpose.

The *Journal* has tried for several months to contact Senator Montoya for an explanation of his frequent trips overseas and to places like Stateline, Nevada, and Wakiki. Montoya himself has refused to return the calls. An aide, Mike Duffy, responded by saying, "The senator is chairman of several committees. He has a lot of responsibilities and some of them take him out of town or out of state. You have to look at the whole picture." Duffy declined to elaborate.

A.G. Block

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Continued from page 598

professional management and surveying; meals for campaign workers attributed to travel, general, or were described by the treasurer; charitable donations listed under contributions (to other candidates), general or were described by the treasurer. Some candidates listed any expenditure under general overhead if it could not be easily placed under a specific category. This makes it difficult to analyze precisely how candidates divvy up their campaign treasuries.

And then there are those expenditures only tenuously connected with campaigning. The Elections Code prohibits candidates from using campaign funds for personal use, defined as a "payment (from campaign funds) that creates a substantial personal benefit and does not have more than a negligible political, legislative, or governmental purpose."

> The regulatory chain seems to be hodge-podge, with no one agency firmly in charge.

Yet, "negligible political, legislative or governmental purpose" is a galactic-sized loophole that seems to be liberally interpreted by the attorney general. For example, in 1986 Democratic Assemblyman Curtis Tucker was given the okay to use his campaign treasury to buy Los Angeles Lakers tickets to give out to constituents. The purchase was legal, reasoned Deputy Attorney General Ted Prim, because a Lakers ticket cost less than $100, and the law allows candidates to make gifts from their campaign treasury of less than $100. The request was also approved because giving tickets to constituents helps "fulfill their expectations that a person in your position has access to complimentary tickets" and serves, therefore, a reasonable political or legislative purpose. Of course, it also perpetuates a myth, for Tucker did not have access to Lakers tickets and needed to spend either his own money or campaign funds to appear influential to district voters who asked for tickets. Under these circumstances, a legislator's campaign treasury becomes something of a slush fund for personal use or for buying influence both inside and outside the Legislature.

But Jerry Haleva, chief of staff to Republican state Senator Bill Campbell, says legislators often give away many sports tickets to non-profit groups who then use the tickets to raise money. Again, indicates Haleva, the campaign fund serves as a kind of community chest that helps others while enhancing a lawmaker's image.

Campaign fund-raising, especially among incumbents, has reached Himalayan proportions. Politicians raise more and more and more and more every year, and once someone has accumulated that kind of money, there is an overwhelming urge to spend it. And since nearly everything a legislator does can be construed as having more than a negligible connection to his or her legislative duties, campaign contributions can legally be spent for nearly anything. But although it is legal to travel the world with a campaign-backed Visa card, is it also abuse of the relationship between candidates and their contributors? After all, donating to a politician's reelection campaign is different than donating to his or her travel fund, or to perpetuating the myth that an officeholder has pull with a pro sports team when, in fact, he or she has none.

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David Dreier: the million-dollar man

By TOM WALDMAN

The San Gabriel Valley has foothills, heavy smog and quite possibly the Irwindale Raiders. In David Dreier, it also has the congressman with more money in his campaign fund than anyone else serving in the House of Representatives.

The 35-year-old Dreier — a Republican whose district includes Claremont, Covina and Duarte — has done very well for himself during almost seven years in Congress. According to reports from the Federal Elections Commission, as of June 30th, Dreier had $965,000 on hand — several thousands of dollars more than the total amassed by any of his 434 colleagues.

Dreier has not been reluctant to share with GOP candidates who come to him for help, which tends to minimize feelings of jealousy among fellow Republicans in the House. "David has been very generous in assisting people who have election problems," said Carlos Moorhead, dean of the state's Republican delegation.

Dreier's supporters maintain that

Tom Waldman is a freelance writer form North Hollywood.

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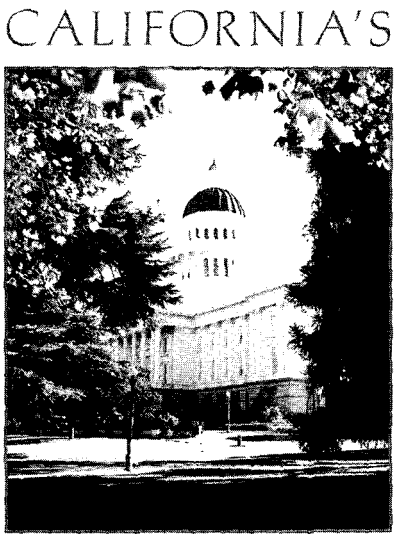

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having all this money around makes their man a potent political force. "The campaign fund is a signal of his political capabilities," said Alan Heslop, director of the Rose Institute at Claremont McKenna College and an unofficial Dreier adviser for years.

There is good reason for Heslop's optimism. Dreier can use the contributions he has received as a congressman and funnel them into another federal or state campaign without breaking any laws. Starting a run for office with $1 million-plus is a big advantage.

The odd thing is that Dreier's obvious fund-raising success is a secret to all but assorted political insiders and to Common Cause. "It always amazes me how few people know about it," said Arnold Steinberg, a political pollster and analyst working in the Los Angeles area. "A lot of people don't check (spending reports)."

A lot of people also don't hear much about the San Gabriel Valley or its representatives. The area is bordered by wealthy Orange County on the south and media-saturated Los Angeles on the west. People like Mel Levine, Bob Dornan and Henry Waxman get much more ink than Dreier or his Valley colleagues. Dreier has had his best luck placing guest editorials in the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner.*

Dreier's relative anonymity is compounded by the fact he serves on two committees — Small Business and Banking — that don't often make headlines. Dreier received the most attention when he took up causes outside the domain of these committees: medical assistance for wounded Afghan rebels and the fate of American servicemen missing in Southeast Asia.

Some politicos believe that no matter what a California representative does, it's ignored by the folks back home. "It's difficult to build significant identification from Washington in California," said Allan Hoffenblum, a Los Angeles-based political consultant for the GOP. Washington, he half-jokingly noted, "is a million miles away."

All this means Dreier must work hard — and spend lots of money — to make a name for himself around his home state. But with youth and dollars on his side, he sees no reason to make any political commitment other than defending his seat in 1988.

When pressed, however, Dreier acknowledges an interest in challenging Alan Cranston in 1992. He prefers federal to state issues, and at this point would be reluctant to run for anything in Sacramento — even though his chances might be better for winning a consti-

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Dreier

tutional office than for defeating Cranston.

Dreier can seemingly stay in the House as long as he wants. His district is nearly 50 percent Republican, which is about as safe as it gets for the GOP. Dreier typically receives 70 percent or more of the vote in general elections. The last Democrat to challenge Dreier, Monty Hempel, director of public policy at Claremont Graduate School, even discovered that using the congressman's hefty campaign fund as an issue can backfire. The more Hempel mentioned it, the more he scared away his own political contributors.

The only thing that scares Dreier is reapportionment. In 1982, after having been a congressman for just one year, Dreier was forced by a Democrat-controlled redistricting plan into a primary battle with fellow GOP incumbent Wayne Grisham (now a state assemblyman). He spent $200,000 to defeat Grisham, and has since maintained that a huge war chest is a necessary "insurance policy" against similar challenges.

The keys to Dreier's success at raising money are himself and Margaret Brock. Dreier is willing to put in his own time talking to contributors. "The best fund-raisers are those elected officials (who) do that," said Steinberg. Dreier makes a straight pitch. "I've never sent out a desperate fund-raising letter," he said, "that the future of this country depends on my being re-elected."

The congressman holds only one big event per year — a $250 per person breakfast in the City of Industry. He has never held a fund raiser in Washington.

Perhaps that in part explains why Dreier has received surprisingly little from political-action committees. According to Common Cause, Dreier is among the minority of House members who get fewer than 50 percent of their contributions from PACs.

Another explanation for this is the help provided by Margaret Brock, otherwise known as "Mrs. California Republican." Brock has been friendly with Dreier ever since he was an eager kid attending Claremont McKenna College. When Dreier first ran for Congress in 1978, Brock introduced him to the right people at events in Orange County and Los Angeles. She still sends a solicitation letter to key supporters on Dreier's behalf before each of his campaigns. He is the only congressman in the delegation for whom Brock extends this favor. Brock also indicated that should Dreier run for the Senate she would probably break her self-imposed rule and endorse him in the primary.

Launching a statewide race from the San Gabriel Valley is difficult no matter how many endorsements the candidate can claim. Both H.L. Richardson and Bill Campbell found out last year how hard it can be. But having a ton of money has made Dreier confident — and fired his political ambition. This extends even to some of the unbeatables in California politics. Regarding a race against Cranston, Dreier said, "I think I could give him a run for his money."

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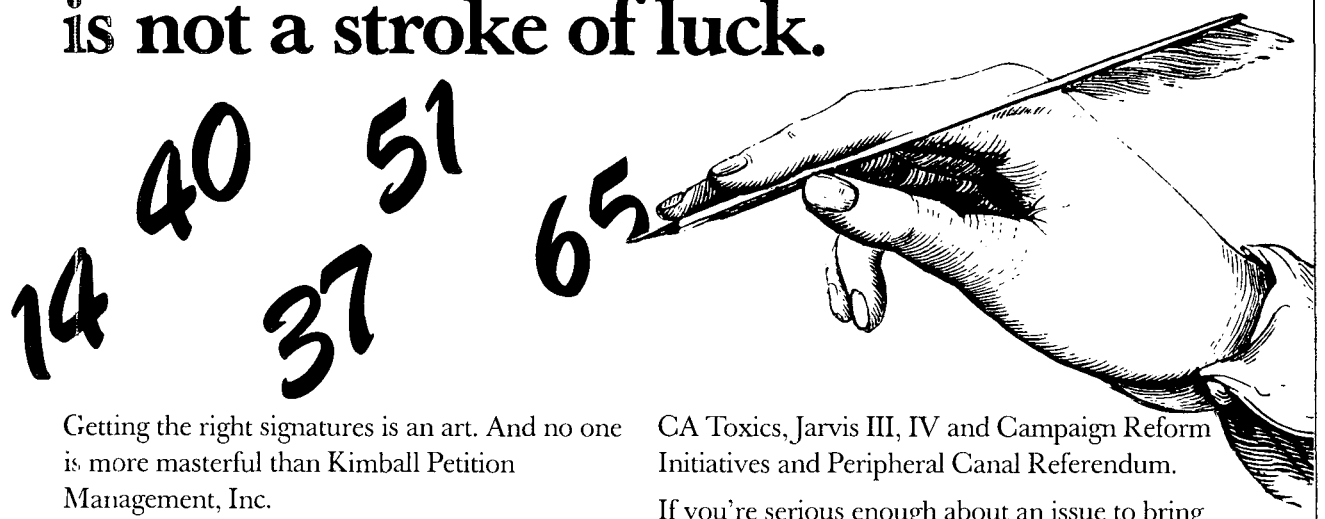

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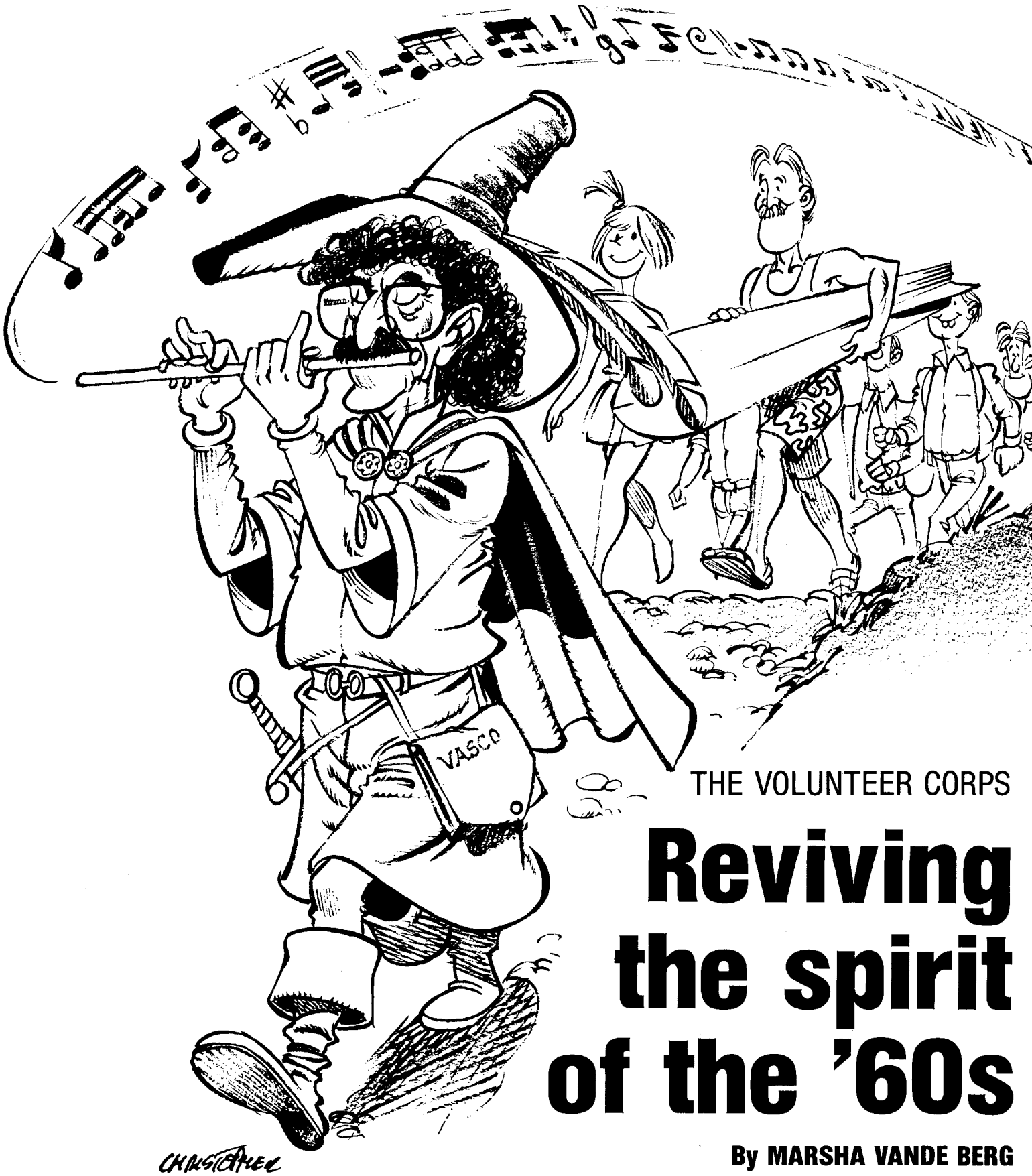

THE VOLUNTEER CORPS

Reviving the spirit of the '60s

By MARSHA VANDE BERG

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"I have moments of real terror when I think we may be losing this generation. We have got to bring these young people into the active life of the community and make them feel necessary." — Eleanor Roosevelt, May 1934

When Democratic Assemblyman John Vasconcellos of San Jose introduced his "Human Corps" bill (AB 1820) to set up a volunteer program on state campuses, his motivation was to spur California's youth to reject the stereotype of the "selfish generation." The idea grew out of discussions with John O'Neill, president of the California School of Psychology, who argued to his friend that too few of this country's institutions are taking sufficient responsibility for providing channels for community service.

It is an idea similar to Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps which employed 2.5 million young men on conservation work, and the Kennedy administration's Peace Corps. It is an idea that suggests that, given the opportunity, youth of the 1980s care every bit as much about making a difference as their counterparts in previous generations.

It is a plan underscored by the need for volunteers throughout urban America to help in soup kitchens for the homeless, with tutoring illiterate adults, counseling pregnant teens and assisting handicapped persons. Its usefulness is even more critical in the wake of the deep cuts in domestic programs effected by the Reagan administration.

Vasconcellos, long-time chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee with an unusual reputation for embracing the humanist's link between education and social responsibility, described his motivation this way:

"There has been a tragic loss of one's sense for community over the past decade, in the whole society. This looks to be a breakthrough or a turnaround in that it provides students with a way to do this kind of work."

Says O'Neill, "My experience is if leaders at all levels come out with something that is clear, workable and that makes sense, young people still have wonderful instincts and will respond."

The legislation, passed by the Legislature and signed into law by Governor George Deukmejian in September 1987, asks that all college and university students in the state do 30 hours of volunteer work each academic year. Students are ex-

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Marsha Vande Berg is assistant metro editor for The Register *of Orange County.*

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pected to volunteer for the program but are not required to do so. The bill budgeted $240,000 to cover start-up costs on campuses statewide and required the California Postsecondary Education Commission to act as a watchdog over implementation of the effort. When Governor Deukmejian signed the bill, however, he deleted the start-up funds.

"Our state faces enormous unmet human needs and social challenges, including under-educated children, increasing illiteracy and teenage parenting, environmental contamination, homelessness, school drop-outs, and growing needs for elder care," the bill states. "The state's ability to face these challenges requires policymakers to find creative and cost-effective solutions including increased efforts for community and student public service."

Stanford University President Donald Kennedy, a founder of Campus Compact — one of two key networks for volunteer efforts nationwide — has promoted the notion that institutions across the country need to fill a void of programs for volunteer work. He has taken his cause — and the example of Stanford's Public Service Center, established in 1984 — to audiences ranging from California's Rotary clubs to the Democratic Issues Conference last February in Greenbriar, West Virginia.

"Popular myth insists that they (students) are self-absorbed 'careerists,' unconcerned with the plight of others," Kennedy told the Democrats in West Virginia. "Nothing could be further from the truth. What they are are individuals, to whom personal scope and identity are important . . ."

Kennedy's message struck a responsive chord at the University of San Diego, one of three universities in San Diego involved in a unique network designed for sharing plans for the universities' respective volunteer programs.

Says University of San Diego President Arthur E. Hughes, "Volunteering has become a very acceptable thing to do on this campus."

Hughes is also a member of Campus Compact, a coalition of 120 college and university chancellors and presidents pulled together to promote student involvement in public service. The nationwide network was established in November 1985 by three university officials, including Stanford's Kennedy.

This year was the first of the Campus Compact's Robinson Student Humanitarian Achievement awards to honor college students who perform outstanding community service. One of the half-dozen recipients was George Cuevas, a Stanford student who was honored for tutoring economically and educationally disadvantaged children in East Palo Alto.

"People I know are rejecting the Yuppie mentality that plagued the 1970s," said Cuevas. "I don't know what triggers it. It might just be the result of a cycle."

For Wayne Meisel, the brains behind Campus Outreach Opportunities League (COOL), the second of two nationwide networks operating to promote volunteer service, the task belongs to institutions like universities, legislatures and his Washington D.C.-based organization. Once programs are in place and cooperating, students will join in.

"We don't have a Vietnam War to pull us together. We don't have a civil-rights movement. Instead, we have teen pregnancy and the homeless. We don't have the leadership we had in the 1960s and the 1970s. There is no Martin Luther King or John Kennedy. The student leaders are not the same. In their place we need foundations for service — and the hope that people will do more than pour soup. The hope is that they will think about these issues," Meisel said.

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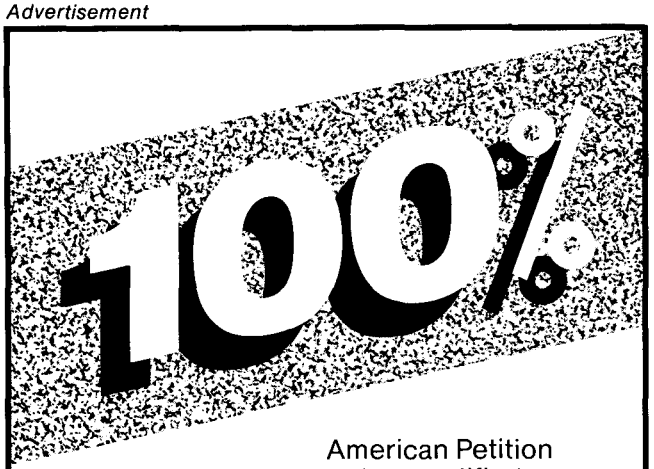

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Choate

Vasconcellos

For Kenneth Green, associate director of UCLA's Higher Education Research Institute and director of a project that has been evaluating attitudes of the 1.6 million freshmen who enter college nationwide, young people are sending mixed signals about their interest in volunteer work. In some instances, the motivation appears to be genuine altruism. In other instances, it seems to be traced to self-serving concerns and interests.

Based on data gleaned from students surveyed for the 1986 report, Green found that 69 percent replied in the affirmative when asked whether they did volunteer work in high school on an occasional basis. The more telling statistic, according to Green, was the 44 percent who replied that they did volunteer work on a regular, routine basis. For Green, these results indicate both a core group that does volunteer work and a kind of "resume padding" by students trying to distinguish themselves from the herd when filling out college applications.

According to Green, students of the 1980s experienced emotionally and intellectually the breakup of nuclear families and the loss of jobs by both mothers and fathers who were educated, white-collar workers expecting to live ever-improving life styles.

Green's survey results follow in part findings in a 1986 report by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching — a study that also spurred Vasconcellos to take a step toward drafting the Human Corps legislation. The Carnegie researchers, after visiting 29 colleges in late 1984, found among students a preoccupation with personal interests and a lack of concern and commitment to social issues. To influence a change in this attitude, they recommended that every student complete a service project and that colleges offer deferred admission to students who devote a year to volunteer work.

Bob Choate, a wily, aggressive activist for community concerns and the heart and soul behind the formation of San Diego's volunteer program network, disregards the debate over whether young people are motivated out of altruism or self-interest. Like Vasconcellos, his concern is that programs be put in place as soon as possible. Two sides win if it happens, Choate argues. The students benefit from experiences in the real world. Agencies, long since hard pressed for a steady, reliable supply of volunteers, will have help in numbers greater than ever before. "My larger purpose is to educate college students as to what is the real fabric of American society," Choate says.

Also important to his mission was his success in lobbying for the inclusion of language in AB 1820 that specifically names the public-service sector that would use the new volunteers. The reason, says Choate, is that to be successful, a

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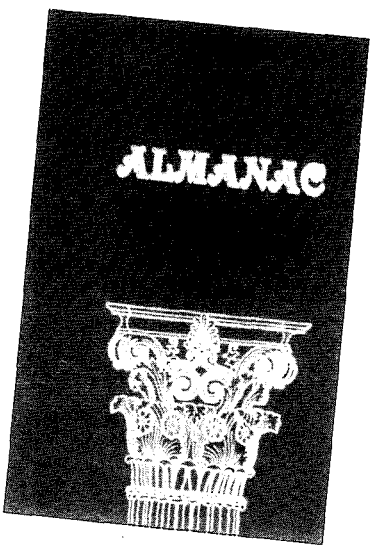

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cooperative effort between all parties affected should be supported.

Although participation in the program is strongly encouraged and students are expected to join in, they are not required to do so. According to many, volunteerism should be just that — voluntary. In addition, mandating volunteer service amounts to an intrusion of the Legislature into academics, says Neil Smelser, a professor at UC Berkeley and chair of the Academic Council for all UC campuses. Lobbyists for UC, the California State University system and the state's independent colleges were unified in their opposition to making volunteer service mandatory.

Once the mandatory language issue was settled through amendments, the bill picked up additional support, including the sponsorship of state Senator Marian Bergeson, a Newport Beach Republican.

"It got through (the Senate Education Policy Committee) because Vasconcellos finally had the support of everybody who was involved, and because he made it clear that it would not be a requirement," a state education official said.

Still, there were doubts Deukmejian would sign it. On the one hand, dropping the mandatory requirements gained the important endorsement of Peter Mehas, the governor's aide on education issues. On the other hand, Deukmejian vetoed a measure calling for a study of the possibilities of a campus Human Corps program when Vasconcellos moved to make the study part of the 1986 budget. After the bill passed the Legislature in September, student organizations from all UC and CSU campuses launched an intense lobbying effort aimed at getting the governor to sign the bill.

But the governor had practical reasons for signing the bill as well. "We also are looking at it favorably because adult illiteracy is a major problem and this legislation would utilize resources that could be helpful," said Mehas.

San Diego is one California city that has benefited from a volunteer program. Three universities — CSU San Diego, the University of San Diego and UC San Diego, with a combined enrollment of 65,000 students — are part of a network operating under the title "The San Diego Committee on University Community Services." Among successful community service projects sponsored by the schools are: emergency delivery of blankets to the homeless when the weather turned cold last winter; tutoring Latino children and conducting adult illiteracy programs; coordinating programs through the Campus YMCA and YWCA; work in a latchkey program for children; and programs with San Diego public schools.

According to Vasconcellos' office, the San Diego network can be a model for implementation statewide. So can another existing state program — the California Conservation Corps.

"Their focus is quite different, although they are trying to instill the same spirit about volunteer work," said Pamela Spratlen, a Vasconcellos aide. The CCC is not volunteer work, per se, since its 2200 participants are paid minimum wage for such jobs as building parks, reconstructing trails, clearing logjams from streams and helping to fight forest fires.

With five pieces of legislation promoting national service programs pending in Congress but only Massachusetts considering implementation of a volunteer program, the Human Corps has a substantial potential for putting the state on the cutting edge of what many see as the stirrings of a national trend.

"It is my hope to invite the evolution of a cultural change within five years," said Vasconcellos. "There is some community service already operating in the state. This is intended to build on that."

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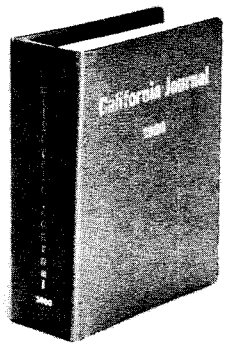

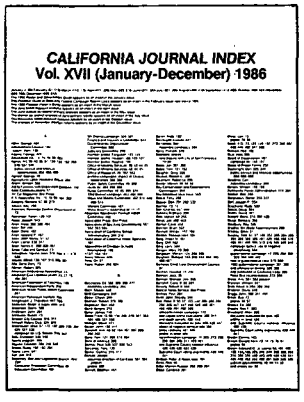
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BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,145 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. Regardless of the date shown, signatures must have been submitted by November 19, 1987, for any measure to qualify for the June 1988 ballot.*

New in circulation:

DISABILITY BENEFITS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Kevin McCarthy of Santa Rosa, that would set disability benefits for an injured worker at two-thirds of the worker's gross wage and family medical insurance. It would also require an annual benefit adjustment and ban termination of benefits except by return to suitable employment, agreement of the parties or order by a judge after a hearing. (March 7, 1988)

INSURANCE REGULATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Adam Burton of Los Angeles, that would require the state insurance commissioner to set standards for "fair and reasonable" insurance rates and to approve any rate changes. Among other provisions, it would also prohibit life insurance and life annuity differentials based on gender, prohibit auto liability differentials based on neighborhood or territory and establish a consumer advocate in the Department of Insurance. (March 7, 1988)

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE POLICY — an initiative statute, sponsored by Russell Oertel of Claremont, that would put Californians on record as finding that no protection is provided from a nuclear attack launched by any nation or person possessing nuclear ballistic missiles and that this situation can be remedied by deploying non-nuclear strategic defenses that cost less than 5 percent of the federal defense budget. (March 21, 1988)

REAPPORTIONMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer of Fullerton, that would require that state legislative districts be reapportioned in the year after every other presidential election. The current system calls for reapportionment after each decennial census. Reapportionment for congressional districts would not be changed. (March 28, 1988)

NUCLEAR POWER — an initiative statute, sponsored by Ben Davis Jr. of Broderick, that would prohibit nuclear power plants from generating energy by use of nuclear fission until the California Energy Commission and the Legislature declare that an approved method for permanent and terminal disposal of high-level nuclear waste is available. The government could license the plants but they would not be allowed to operate until the disposal requirements were met. (March 28, 1988)

Continuing in circulation:

WILDLIFE, COASTAL, AND PARK LAND CONSERVATION BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Californians for Parks & Wildlife. (November 19, 1987; August 1987 *CJ*)

AIDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Brian Lantz and Khushro Ghandi of Livermore. This proposal is sponsored by proponents of, and is similar to, Proposition 64, which was defeated during the November 1986 election. (November 19, 1987; August 1987 *CJ*)

OCEAN NET FISHING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Kenneth Kukuda of Santa Ana. (November 27, 1987; August 1987 *CJ*)

LEGISLATIVE OFFICES AND CAMPAIGN FUNDS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Paul McCauley of Los Angeles and Don Floyd of San Diego. (December 14, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*)

LAW ENFORCEMENT FUNDING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Secretary of State March Fong Eu. This is the so-called "Dimes against Crime" initiative. (December 18, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*)

PROPOSITIONS. YEAR ROUND VOTING. PROXY VOTING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Matt Dillon of Sacramento. (December 21, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*)

INCOME TAX — an initiative statute, sponsored by Paul McCauley of Los Angeles. (December 21, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*)

TRANSPORTATION REVENUE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress. (January 7, 1988; September 1987 *CJ*)

CAMPAIGN FUNDING — an initiative statute, sponsored by independent state Senator Quentin Kopp of San Francisco, Democratic state Senator Joseph Montoya of Whittier and Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton, (January 8, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)

TORT CLAIMS, LIMITS ON ATTORNEY FEES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gene Livingston of Davis and former Deukmejian cabinet official Kirk West of Sacramento. (January 11, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)

STATE INCOME TAX REBATE — an initiative statute, sponosred by Republican Assemblymen Tom McClintock of Newbury Park and Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia and Republican state Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield. (January 15, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)

STATE AND LOCAL APPROPRIATIONS LIMIT ADJUSTMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by a coalition of the League of Women Voters, California Teachers Association and Peace Officers Research Association of California. (January 21, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)

APPROPRIATIONS LIMIT ADJUSTMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, also sponsored by a coalition of the League of Women Voters, California Teachers Association and Peace Officers Research Association of California. (January 21, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)

CAMPAIGN FINANCING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Thomas of Bakersfield and former Fair Political Practices Commission Chairman Dan Stanford of Solana Beach. (January 29, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)

APPROPRIATION LIMIT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Paul Gann of Carmichael. (February 1, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*)

LIMITS ON TORT CLAIMS AND ATTORNEY FEES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gene Livingston and former Deukmejian cabinet official Kirk West of Sacramento. The same sponsors have another, similar measure already in circulation. (February 16, 1988; November 1987 *CJ*)

Qualified for June 1988 ballot:

CAMPAIGN FUNDING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Walter Gerken and by California Common Cause, that will, if approved by voters, set limits on contributions and loans that could be made or accepted for legislative offices and establish a Campaign Reform Fund to which taxpayers could designate up to $3 annually from income taxes paid. Some matching funds could be made from this Fund to qualified candidates.

Source: secretary of state's office

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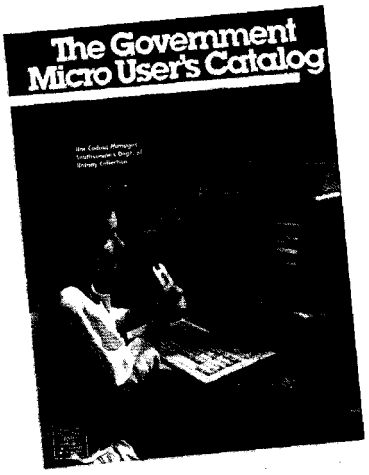

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Presidential character

"Character," said Democratic pollster Peter Hart, summarizing in one word what Americans will look for in their next president. "Character first and foremost. Why? It's the most personal vote a person casts."

SEVEN YEARS AGO, the American people made a heart-and-soul commitment to an ex-actor whose presidential qualifications were a winning smile and two terms as California's governor. Now, we are gearing up for the picking of a president all over again. Hart said his surveys find the voters still want the best of Reagan — "a sense of strength" and an "ability to talk and relate to the American people" — but are demanding more than they got from the Californian.

This time, Hart said, voters will also demand "the ability to understand and formulate policy — the sense of involvement" in decision-making. And they will demand a willingness to "play by the rules" in a sneaky era of secret arms deals with Iran and insider trading scandals on Wall Street.

But how do we analyze the character of our presidential candidates? How do we judge their psychological and emotional fitness for the unique office they seek?

James David Barber ought to know if anybody does. After all, Barber, a political science professor at Duke University, invented the analysis of candidates' character as a way of predicting their presidential performance. His 1972 book, "Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House," was a hit, Barber notes, largely because it prophesized that President Nixon "would freeze up around some losing line of action, a rigidification confirmed in Watergate."

Nonetheless, this year's version of character analysis isn't quite what the quotable professor had in mind.

"The character crunch of 1987 jiggles back and forth between morals and mannerisms," Barber complained in a recent speech. "It is hard to keep track of the Persian Gulf and the trade deficit, but adultery? Lying? Stealing on the job? That we can handle, at least those of us who watch soap operas or go to Sunday school."

News organizations are "waiting for some hiccup of history" instead of probing real questions of character, Barber said, adding: "Are we in a situation in which Gary Hart's inability to build coalitions, get along with the press and speak clearly to the general public stays obscure until a Donna Rice drops into his lap? Or a Biden's flaky thinking survives until an opponent leaks a tape of it?"

Barber attempts a more rigorous analysis, but his own, admittedly tentative, assessments of the candidates seem equally anecdotal:

- The preacher candidates — Republican Pat Robertson and Democrat Jesse Jackson — ought to be ignored because they have "zero government experience."
- Republican Vice President George Bush "has been used by those in charge" throughout his career. "It is not that he is emotionally compliant. It is that he is compliant by principle. Because that was how he was raised."
- Moody Democratic Governor Mario Cuomo of New York, the most talked about non-candidate, has left the suspicion that he has a dark side, like Nixon and Lyndon Johnson. "We've suffered through the presidencies of men driven by deep-rooted compulsion — power-hungry persons using the White House as a kind of clinic to work through their inner conflicts."
- Republican Robert Dole, too, is too often described in terms of "his anger, his bitterness, his black depression, his explosive temper." As a wartime hero, "Dole deserves a Medal of Honor. Whether he deserves the presidency is an entirely different question."
- Democratic Governor Michael Dukakis has yet to prove he wouldn't end up like Jimmy Carter, "another small-state succeeder who would blunder in the big city."

Barber's analysis inevitably falls back on pop psychology about formative influences from the childhood and early careers of these candidates: Was Bush's daddy demanding and distant? Was Dole made a more sensitive person by those Kansas townfolk who helped nurse him back to health after his war wounds?

Such speculation is risky, especially in a year when character-conscious strategists are training candidates to start every stump speech with carefully-crafted autobiographical tales that are designed to create the illusion of intimacy and candor.

At every stop, Dole reminisces about the wholesome, smalltown virtues of his loving parents, but the crass political point is that he grew up poor while Bush was born with a silver spoon in his mouth.

For weeks, Bush used virtually every appearance to recall the searing heartache of losing a young daughter to a fatal illness. It was clearly an experience that shaped and tested Bush as a young father. In the constant retelling, however, the grim tale quickly began to seem just another political prop ordered up by campaign image-makers.

ASKED HOW TO JUDGE GENUINE CHARACTER when campaign managers are turning out ersatz versions on the political assembly line, the best Barber could come up with was to recommend that reporters travel to the candidates' hometowns to scrounge up childhood buddies and country cousins who know the unvarnished truth.

The one thing he does not recommend to judge the candidates' fitness for the presidency is chasing after them as they endure the ordeal of campaigning. "Following these guys on the campaign is a big phony," Barber said. "The campaign trail is a basketball game designed to pick the best poker player."

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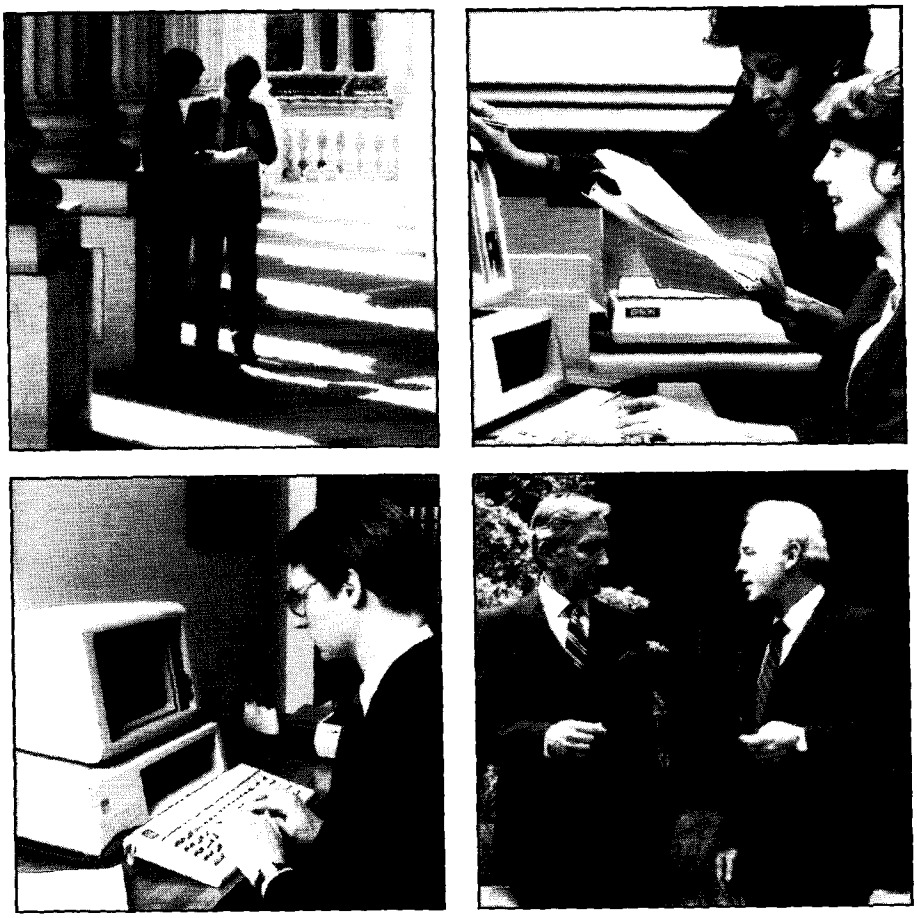

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